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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE FORT GEORGE-BUCKINGHAM HOUSE SITE PLANTATION (1792-1800): NATIVE-EUROPEAN CONTACT IN THE FUR TRADE ERA

BY

LYNDA GULLASON ©

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTERS OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1990

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled THE FORT GEORGE-BUCKINGHAM HOUSE SITE PLANTATION (1792-1800): NATIVE-EUROPEAN CONTACT IN THE FUR TRADE ERA submitted by LYNDA NOREEN GULLASON in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS in ANTHROPOLOGY.

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Supervisor

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Date 17 July 1990

ABSTRACT

The character of Native-European contact and its effect on Native culture has received little attention in fur trade archaeology. Plantations, Indian encampments associated with the trading posts, offer opportunities for studying culture change through contact. The plantation site selected for this research, FlOq-10, lies between Fort George and Buckingham House, two posts which operated in east-central Alberta from 1792-1800. An extensive excavation programme yielded little evidence for an historic Native presence at the camp site.

This archaeological invisibility may be partly explained by the cultural site formation processes. The plantation is a site characterized by multiple brief visitations by various Native groups who were involved in activities leaving little traditional material residue. Hence, given the short occupation period; the social nature of the activities (smoking, drinking and visiting) which would leave few traces; and the routine cleanup of the area by the Europeans, the lack of evidence for Native use of the site as a trade camp is not unexpected. Furthermore, the trading Indians, who came from the Woodland, Parkland and Plains, represented a multiplicity of responses to the contact situation. Documentary sources identified only to a degree the ethnicity of these traders, their articles of trade and the European commodities they received in return. The ethnic diversity was undetected in the archaeological investigations undertaken.

A more complete data base for contact studies exists within the forts themselves. Gender-based differences existed among the trading Indians in the duration and intensity of European contact. The most intense form of European contact was experienced by the Native wives of the post employees. A Native female presence is historically documented at both forts. As 'country wives' of the employees, the strongest archaeological evidence for their identity is found in the employees' residences.

The impact of European contact on the material culture and activities of these women at Fort George is addressed through gender-based analyses of domestic artifact assemblages from employees' residences located within and nearby the post. Artifact assemblages organized in terms of ethnicity, gender and utilitarian/luxury associations reveal a range of cultural response to contact on the part of these women which included retention, supplementation, incorporation and replacement.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

THE PROBLEM

Contact and culture change is a theme in anthropological research that has been approached from as many perspectives as there are subdisciplines in anthropology. Analysis of cross-cultural contact and change can yield important information concerning cultural dynamics. However, because researchers often fail to be explicit regarding the object of change within a culture (Rushforth 1986:265), the topic of culture change through contact has been arduously debated in the decades subsequent to the "Memorandum For the Study of Acculturation" by Redfield et al. (1936).

Archaeology can offer a valuable chronological perspective to the study of the culture transfer process. Unfortunately, from the standpoint of archaeology, the study "has barely begun" (Wheaton et al. 1983:237). This absence is particularly regrettable in historic archaeology, "which has remained largely descriptive and unanthropological", for this research field, with its independent data bases of archaeological and archival records, offers opportunities to identify processes and causes which are not usually available in prehistoric research (Fitzhugh 1985:3; Wheaton et al. 1983). In particular, studies concerning the process of culture transfer between Europeans and Indians during the fur trade have been based primarily on the ethnocentric and androcentric viewpoints which the European historic documents have provided. Typically, in these primary documents, as well as in much of the scholarly research that they have generated, attention has focused on the impact of the fur trade on Indians without differentiating this experience in terms of the sexes (Spector 1983; Van Kirk 1980a, b;1987). Often lacking even this documentation for the initial contact period, we are left with little historical data from which to study the process of culture change through contact. Moreover, written source material is frequently inadequate because it is the result of transformational processes (Schiffer 1975, cited in South 1977:242). For instance:

> Documents . . . may be concerned with only specific things; they may be falsified; they become lost or destroyed . . .(South 1977:242)
>
> . . . some ephemeral settlements and other activity loci, although economically important, may be very poorly documented even within the relatively recent past. (South 1977:243)

In order to understand pre-ethnographic contact and culture change, we must establish a clear contact baseline from which the degree and direction of culture change can be examined. For contact research on the fur trade period this must be accomplished through a program of documentary and archaeological investigation.

The archaeological record at contact period sites is recognized as a source of information on European-Native contact and culture change. Yet there exists a virtually unexplored class of sites which offers opportunities for studying this problem. This is the plantation, or encampment of Native traders, associated with a trading post. The site selected for the research in this study lies between Fort George, a North West Company (N.W.C.) post, and Buckingham House, a Hudson Bay Company (H.B.C.) enterprise, two posts which operated in east-central Alberta from 1792 to 1800. Both posts have been previously excavated (Kidd 1970; Losey et al. 1978; Losey and Pyszczyk 1979; Losey 1980; Nicks 1969). The site represents a well-documented, brief occupation during the initial period of fur trade contact in Alberta.

PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

The present study was originally undertaken to increase our understanding of the archaeological evidence for contact and change within the context of the fur trade in Western Canada. The specific purpose of this thesis is to identify both the selective change in Native material culture upon contact with Europeans and the relative behavioural alterations implied by this change through archaeological and archival investigations of the Fort George-Buckingham

House plantation and the Fort George employees' residences. The underlying premise of this research is that patterns of artifact disposal, including varying artifact frequency and the absence of some artifact categories, are culturally determined (Wheaton et al. 1983:343). This study provides an opportunity to examine the long-neglected Native perspective of the fur trade through a description of a Native occupation associated with a fur trade post.

This research problem will be operationalized through a series of objectives. These are:

1. To evaluate the Fort George-Buckingham House plantation as a source of archaeological data on contact and culture change through comparison with documentary evidence and archaeological evidence from previous excavations of the forts (a systemic examination of the agencies responsible for the site formation processes at this type of site is an important aspect of the evaluation);

2. To identify the degree and direction of material culture change for an early historic Native occupation by means of data gathered from the plantation, the forts and the extant primary documents;

3. To determine ethnic differences among the visiting tribes according to the degree and direction of culture change upon European contact;

4. To investigate the differential impact of intercultural interaction on the material culture, as well as on the roles, activities, and experience of the Native wives of the forts' employees (Conkey and Spector 1984:19).

Owing to the present paucity of culture transfer research in historic archaeology in Alberta, this study will not address chronological or regional variation in material culture response to inter-ethnic contact. Eventually though, these data should be used to develop a processual model for fur trade contact and culture change.

THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENT

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES OF CONTACT AND CULTURE CHANGE

In 1936 Redfield et al. published an outline for the study of acculturation "as a first step toward clarifying the problem and to serve as an aid in the classification of studies already made" (1936:149). In this model, they defined acculturation as "those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into *continuous first-hand* contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (emphasis added) (Redfield et al. 1936:149). The terms 'continuous' and 'first-hand' do not characterize the full complement of Native-European relations within the fur trade. Neither proto-contact (the diffusion of cultural traits without direct contact between groups), nor the often transient contact at the trading posts can be described as 'continuous' nor is the former 'first-hand' contact. In addition, 'acculturation' has come to have the connotation of a 'unilateral adaptation of a less-advanced culture' probably because it has been mistakenly applied to situations of enculturation. For these reasons, I use the phrases 'contact and culture change', 'culture transfer', or 'intercultural interaction' throughout the text.

According to Broom et al. (1954:975) the following aspects should be considered in any investigation of culture contact: (1) the cultural systems before contact; (2) the nature of the contact situation; (3) the conjunctive relations; and (4) the cultural processes. While these issues are addressed in this thesis, an extensive discussion of the cultural background of the several visiting tribes and their European trading partners is beyond the scope of this study.

Familiarity with the traditional cultures prior to contact ensures that change during contact is not attributed to a response to a culturally-independent variable such as changing environmental conditions. For example, "Human groups may take up very different social organization, roles and even definition of themselves at different points in their annual cycle" which may be completely unrelated to the contact situation (Brown 1986:218). Furthermore, a knowledge of precontact traditions is essential for successfully determining the type and rate of culture change.

The situational context of the contact concerns the duration and intensity of contact as well as the demography of the contact community. Criteria such as physical distance between the groups can affect the type and rate of adaptation.

Conjunctive relations refers to the social structure of the interaction. Intercultural role networks establish the contact framework and channels which enable culture transfer (Broom et al. 1954:980). Only certain portions of a culture are transmitted, those relevant to the contact situation. For example, during the commercial transactions of the fur trade, the European policy of advancing credit was a trait in relatively greater evidence to the Indians than were other aspects of the European culture: religion or kinship organization, for example. Successful transfer of cultural traits is largely determined by the perceptual orientation of the recipients (Broom et al.1954:983). For utilitarian items for which no significant advantage is perceived, adaptation will not voluntarily occur. (In the case of luxury items, the concept of 'advantage' is less useful.) This explains why some aspects of technology are so easily incorporated while cultural institutions such as social, political and religious frameworks may never be transferred.

Discussions of the process of culture transfer involving societies with different levels of complexity have traditionally had a "technological-deterministic perspective" in which a more complex technology was viewed as more adaptive (Ray 1978:8). Most studies have emphasized the inevitable assimilation of the technologically inferior group (see for example Murphy and Steward 1956). However, since the 'revolutionary discovery' by Sahlins (1972) "that the productive activities of hunting and gathering peoples were relatively reliable, abundant and efficient", anthropological models and explanations of how hunting and gathering societies change and undergo transformation have been reexamined (Feit 1982:373). The net result is the realization that the process of culture transfer is not immutably directed toward assimilation. A variety of cultural responses to contact are possible. These processes include the following (Broom et al. 1954:984-988):

1. ***Incorporation.*** Elements are transferred and integrated to conform to traditional, precontact cultural expectations. Equivalent terms include augmentation, supplementation, enrichment, and additive integration.
2. ***replacement*** . Foreign culture traits are substituted for traditional traits.
3. ***syncretism.*** New cultural forms develop from reinterpretations and recombinations of previous traits from both cultures.
4. ***compartmentalization.*** A form of bicultural behaviour results when two cultural modes develop: one which is traditional and one which is specific to the contact situation and is not linked to other cultural complexes.
5. ***assimilation.*** One culture is absorbed in its entirety into another with a complete loss of freedom to modify and creatively reinterpret foreign culture traits.

To these types, I would add a sixth contact response - ***retention*** of traditional traits without change.

The level of response to contact is variable as well. It can occur on an external (social or behavioural) plane or an internal (ideological) plane. Rushforth (1986:[illegible]) considers that behavioural change is not, in itself, indicative of cultural adaptation, which occurs, he believes, only on a mental or ideological level. Thus, cultural retention has been maintained if, despite activities changing, activity group formation is retained (Rushforth 1986:266).

Given the multiplicity of variables present in the contact situation, including geographical, chronological and ethnic elements, it is not possible to speak of the fur trade as a situation of homogeneous contact (Morantz 1980:39). The process of culture transfer did not occur with equal speed and thoroughness between the European traders and all Native ethnic groups. Moreover, within the same group, contact was not uniform. There were different rates of change for different cultural institutions and for different members of a social group. For these reasons, it is necessary to define the object of change within a culture prior to any discussion of the existence of culture change. For example, it is obvious that the use of a new tool is a very different sort of cultural transfer than is the adoption of a new social structure. In the first case, simple expediency of a foreign implement often creates a minimum of social change; in the second case, new roles and relationships can completely reorder the social network.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR CONTACT AND CULTURE CHANGE IN THE FUR TRADE

Determining culture transfer in the fur trade through archaeological means presents additional interpretive problems. Only a portion of the material culture and its associations survive from which to infer the contact situation and any subsequent cultural adaptation. In translating the static archaeological record into behaviour, we have to consider that all the artifacts are not equal in terms of the information they convey on behaviour and culture process. Not only do artifacts have a purely technological function, they also have intrinsic social and ideological value (Binford 1962). Moreover, artifacts cannot be evaluated in isolation from one another. The entire constellation of material traits must be considered in order to understand the organization and adaptation behind the artifacts and their situational contexts.

A further consideration is that all cultural traits are not shared equally among all members of a group at all times or in all places. Activities are organized by gender, age and other criteria (Binford 1965:205).

Throughout a site, features and artifact assemblages are not evenly distributed nor is each entirely representative of the culture as a whole. Furthermore, all of the sites occupied by a group are neither identical nor uniformly distributed throughout a region. A systemic or regional approach, in which specializations and adaptations are considered as possible agents responsible for assemblage variability, is essential. At special purpose sites, such as fur trade plantation sites, the reasons for occupation are unique as are the activities undertaken. For example, little on-site manufacturing would be expected at these short-term specialized procurement camps which existed for the express purpose of procuring finished tools. Perhaps the best way to evaluate plantation sites for evidence of culture transfer may be within a regional context by observing changes in settlement and subsistence patterns. Unfortunately, this type of approach is beyond the scope of this thesis.

A second set of problems relating to the identification of culture contact in the fur trade by archaeological means concerns the nature of the sites themselves. Locating Native historic sites in forested areas such as the parkland or boreal zones is difficult because of the archaeological invisibility of these short-term occupations. In many instances the sites are found only after intensive surveys which contain a subsurface testing component, or by observation of land exposed by erosion (such as a river terrace) or by cultivation. Differentiating proto-contact and early (i.e., limited face-to-face) contact is another problem. Both situations are characterized by low non-Native artifact yields. It is possible that these situations may be defined on the basis of artifact types. For example, those items requiring parts or repair by fort personnel may suggest a situation of direct contact, while recycled materials may be more common at proto-contact sites where access to new items was not always available. Identifying a site containing few historic artifacts is complicated by a third possibility: the site may represent the occupation of European post employees who often lived in winter camps, horse camps or fishing camps, sometimes accompanied by their Native families. For these reasons, identifying if and when culture transfer is exhibited at a temporary subsistence camp can be difficult.

An alternative site type is an ethnically pure Native site, such as a reserve. But while problems of ethnic identification may be alleviated, distinguishing periods of contact at these types of sites remains due to lack of stratigraphic control and the time-transgressive nature of many of the artifacts. Moreover, significant culture change may have already taken place by the time reserves were established.

A plantation associated with a later fort having a long occupation suffers from the same sort of chronological and ethnic blending which characterizes a temporary historic campsite (although one advantage of the former may be photographic records of the trade camp location).

The most appropriate type of site in which to observe historic culture transfer thus appears to be a documented area of Native encampment in close proximity to a post occupied for a brief time during the period of early contact. Within an early plantation site, chronological and ethnic variables are more likely to be identifiable; i.e., the problems of differentiating among periods of contact or between Indian and Metis contact with Europeans are absent.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF GENDER AND CULTURE CONTACT

The process of introducing gender to the past has only recently become a mandate for archaeology and history (Albers and Medicine 1983; Brown 1980; Conkey and Spector 1984; Van Kirk 1980a, b; 1987). A key concern is reconstructing gender-specific activities. To date, this focus has been absent in fur trade archaeology and in culture transfer research. Yet gender roles and identities affect experience in terms of patterns of adaptation, change and stability (Spector 1983:77). Indian women who became wives of the Europeans had a very different experience of the fur trade than did Indian men (Van Kirk 1977). These country wives experienced a sustained, intimate contact with European culture which included regular access to European goods. As a result of their alliances, these women often gained considerable influence and status within both societies (Van Kirk 1977). According to Van Kirk (1977:32), "Indian women themselves were active agents in the development of Indian-white relations". Traditional research efforts, however, have cast Native women in reactive roles, rather than as active agents in this contact situation (Van Kirk 1977:43;1987:379). According to Conkey and Spector (1984:13) there has been an obvious asymmetry in their visibility, accomplishments and contributions. This is despite the fact that:

> In certain situations of culture change, gender organization and gender-linked roles are certain not only to be affected but may well structure and set the basis for the new configuration of roles, and social organization, from extractive-productive tasks through the cosmological and ideological realms. (Conkey and Spector 1984:20)

LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous archaeological investigations of Fort George and Buckingham House (cf. Kidd 1970; Losey et al.1978; Losey and Pyszczyk 1979; Losey 1980; Nicks 1969; Prager 1980; Pyszczyk 1987), and indeed in fur trade archaeology in general have focused on the following:

1. collecting representative artifacts of the period;
2. developing site plans and determining construction phases;
3. reconstructing lifeways through study of structures, artifacts and faunal remains;
4. differentiating the sites occupied by the Hudson Bay Company and the North West Company by artifact and building construction technique analyses;
5. identifying the degree to which archaeological assemblages reflect historic inventories of trade goods;
6. determining European adaptations to frontier life while maintaining the structure of a European class society;
7. recognizing archaeological correlates of ethnicity and status within the European community.

The focus of these studies has been restricted to the archaeological remains lying within the forts. The cultural emphasis has been on the Europeans with theoretical objectives directed towards the reconstruction of a small segment of the region's culture history and the European adaptation to a frontier situation.

An unexplored aspect of archaeological research in the fur trade has been the character of the early European-Native contact and the resultant cultural response of the 'other' partner in the fur trade, the Indian, although the subject has been tackled to some degree by historians and cultural geographers using documentary data. The argument against an exclusive dependence on European documents and the biases they contain has already been mentioned. By examining archaeological assemblages associated with a Native occupation in which a mixture of traditional and foreign technology co-exists, we can begin to make some statements regarding the behavioural implications of this selective approach to European technology on the part of Natives and, more generally, concerning the process of culture change.

Although the previous investigators of the Fort George-Buckingham House site complex did not emphasize the archaeological presence of Natives in their interpretations, they were aware of the value and the presence of relevant data for such investigations. Within their discussions they infer certain Native activities based on aboriginal items in the archaeological record, discuss the documentary evidence for trade relations and recognize the plantation as an important class of sites (Losey et al. 1978; Losey and Pyszczyk 1979; Nicks 1969).

CASE STUDIES

Historic aboriginal culture change has been the topic of archaeological research conducted outside of the Aspen-Parkland zone, however. Because some aspects of these investigations bear upon the present study, they will be briefly summarized.

Quimby (1966) examined artifact assemblages from a number of historic Indian sites in the Great Lakes region. By itemizing artifacts on a site-by-site basis, he explored diachronic change in Native material culture upon European contact and concluded that by the late historic period, 1760-1820, contact "had produced a cultural uniformity in the material culture of various tribal groups - a kind of Pan-Indian culture . . ." (Quimby 1966:8). Quimby focused primarily on material culture change but included an account of Alexander Henry's year with a Chippewa family in the late historic period which demonstrated that while the Chippewa were considerably acculturated materially, subsistence and settlement patterns were characterized by continuity and conservatism (Quimby 1966:173).

For her doctoral research, Latta (1976) analyzed five Iroquoian sites to determine the sequence of Iroquoian cultural evolution from protohistoric to historic times (1300-1650 A.D.). She concluded that major changes occurred in subsistence practises; patterns of warfare, trade and resource contact; in the adoption of curing cults as a response to epidemic disease; and in the development of non-kin based male trading groups. Interestingly, Latta (1976:228) observed that luxury goods were not traded during early contact but "circulated . . . only after the more utilitarian items were readily available".

Pilon (1987) inventoried a series of historic Native sites in the Hudson Bay Lowlands including a campsite associated with a trading post. He observed a persistence in subsistence and settlement patterns and material culture (except for hunting weapons) as well as a reuse of foreign goods as raw materials in the production of traditional items. This led him to conclude that the indigenous people were simply exploiting a new environmental element: the Hudson Bay Company (Pilon 1987:222). Pilon's approach to examining a contact situation archaeologically led him to consider the contact in terms of regional, chronological and artifactual perspectives.

Janes (1975) studied nineteenth century European-Native contact in the Mackenzie Basin with reference to settlement and subsistence patterns. He used ethnography to interpret archaeological data from historic Native sites and concluded that a continuity in settlement and subsistence strategies existed.

The only stratified historic Native site which has been investigated in terms of culture transfer is the Cadzow Lake site in the Yukon (Morlan 1972). Morlan's contribution lies in his discussion of contact and change through time in terms of both material culture and subsistence at an ethnically distinct site.

In the early 1960s, excavations were undertaken at Francois' House, a small trading post in east-central Saskatchewan (Kehoe 1976; 1978). The artifact assemblage revealed a dichotomy in terms of gender and ethnicity reflecting the role of Native women as the wives of the traders. Although Kehoe examined contact and culture change through a limited perspective in regards to time, space, and gender, the artifacts studied cross-cut a number of categories.

Elizabeth Bedard (pers. comm. 1989) is undertaking graduate research at Simon Fraser University on an assemblage recovered from excavations at Fort d'Epinette, in northeastern British Columbia, to determine historic Native activities through the presence and distribution of aboriginal artifacts.

Stuart Baldwin's 1979 monograph on an historic Native burial recovered approximately 15 km away from the Fort George-Buckingham House site complex is of interest because its physical proximity and date suggest a close contemporaneity with the Natives who visited the forts. The extraordinary degree of preservation at the Elk Point burial allows a number of observations to be made on Native religion and ideology during the early contact period. The study provides an example of the integration of foreign items into Indian culture while suggesting a retention of aboriginal ideology. However, the nature of the evidence limited Baldwin's inferences to Native male culture transfer and the ideological value of artifacts found within a specialized site, in this case a burial.

To date, the only other archaeological investigation of a plantation site that I am aware of is that conducted by Adams and Burnip (1981; Adams 1983; 1985) on a late 19th century camp at York Factory. Evidence for this encampment was uncovered in the form of features, stratigraphy and artifacts, however, discussions of data relating to culture transfer or gender activity reconstruction were not undertaken. According to Adams (1983:11; 1985), the artifact inventory was informative regarding the "basic material culture of a 19th Century itinerant Cree group" which was characterized by "an obvious trend towards portability" and by high concentrations of food cans and domestic artifacts and liquor and medicine bottles and "low concentrations of smoking and food-serving artifacts". A comparative analysis of the campsite and a contemporaneous Native cabin was also completed (Adams and Burnip 1981). The sites shared similarities in terms of resources, environment and occupation period. Major differences in material culture were attributed to the permanent occupation of the cabin by a single family compared with the temporary use of the trade camp by a number of Native people.

THESIS ORGANIZATION

In order to address the problem of determining contact and culture change during the fur trade through archaeological means, this thesis has been organized as follows. The occupation history of the site complex, its archaeological history and my research methods are presented in Chapter 2. This is followed by a review of the archival evidence for culture transfer at the site complex with particular emphasis on the Native traders in terms of their ethnicity, their articles of trade and the European commodities that they received in turn (Chapter 3). Documentary evidence for the location of the plantation is also considered here. In Chapter 4, I summarize the archaeological evidence for culture contact at the site complex, specifically the results of excavations in the general plantation area as well as the results of excavations undertaken on a building located on the plantation which is contemporaneous with the posts' occupation. This structure is compared with the men's residences at Fort George both architecturally and artifactually. In Chapter 5, I review the objectives and summarize the results. Problems involving the identification of culture contact in the archaeological record are considered and possible solutions are proposed. Appendix 1 includes the majority of the descriptive data related to the artifact assemblage recovered from the Fort George-Buckingham House plantation during the 1988 excavations.

CHAPTER 2

STUDY AREA AND STUDY METHODS

STUDY AREA

The Fort George-Buckingham House site complex (hereafter referred to as the F.G.-B.H. site complex) is located in east-central Alberta, 200 km east of Edmonton and 48 km west of the Saskatchewan border. It lies 11 km southeast of the nearest town, Elk Point, on the uppermost terrace of the north side of the North Saskatchewan River (Figure 1). Fort George (FlOq-1) is situated in S. E. 1/4 S. W. 1/4 of Section 25, Township 56, Range 6, W. of 4 Meridian; Buckingham House (FlOq-2) is located in N. E. 1/4 S. W. 1/4 of Section 26, Township 56, Range 6, W. of 4 Meridian.

ADVANTAGES OF THE SITE AREA FOR CURRENT RESEARCH

The F.G.-B.H. site complex may represent one of the best potential sources of data in Alberta for studying culture transfer within the fur trade. Documentary records exist for seven of the eight years of occupation (1792-1800) which identify, to some extent, the tribes who visited the posts, the number of individuals, the length and season of their stay, as well as the items they brought to trade and the European articles they acquired through gift or purchase. In addition, some information on the role of the 'country wives', Native women affiliated with the posts, as well as data on the plantation itself is provided.

The early and relatively short period of occupation is equally advantageous although somewhat difficult to detect in a wooded site such as the F.G.-B.H. complex. Due to the brief occupation, the burden of differentiating among periods of culture contact in the archaeological record during a long-term occupation is eliminated. (This can be especially difficult to control for in forested sites in the temperate zone, where slow matrix deposition can translate into a lack of

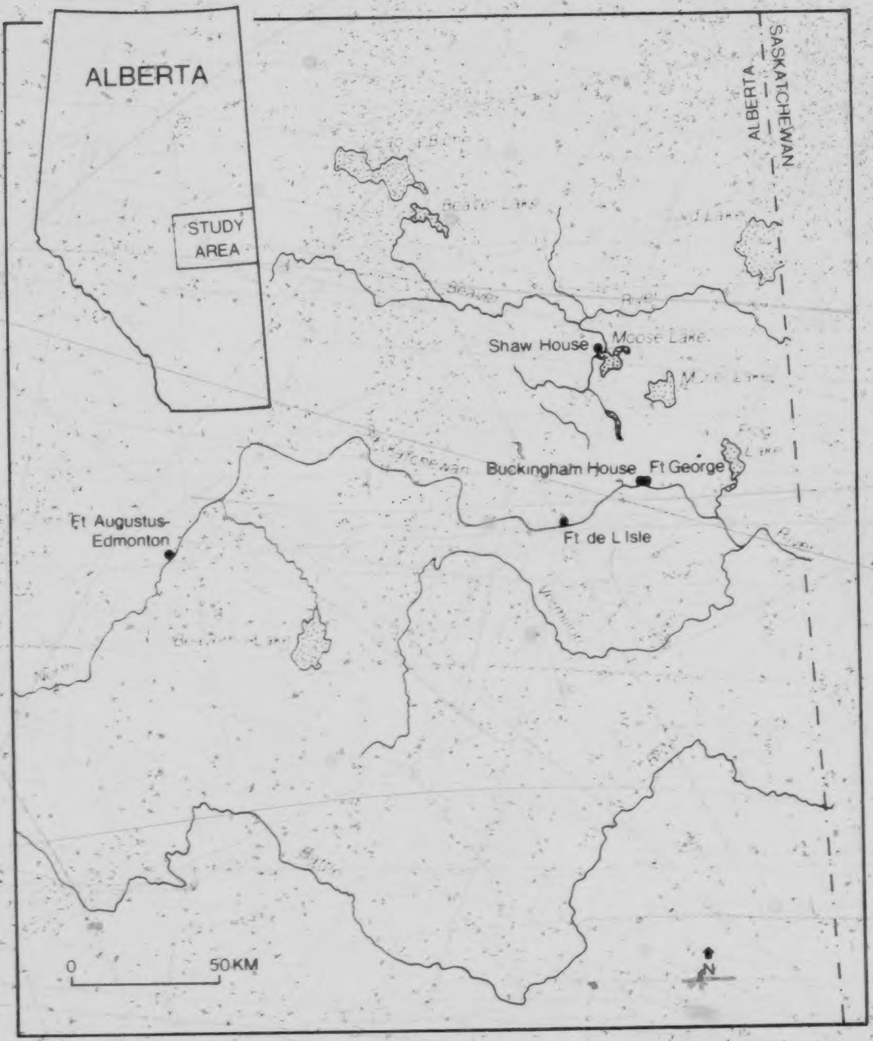

ALBERTA
STUDY AREA
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
Beaver Lake
Beaver River
Shaw House
Moose Lake
Frog Lake
Buckingham House
Ft George
Ft de L Isle
Ft Augustus-Edmonton
River
0
50KM
N

FIGURE 1. Map of East-Central Alberta Showing Fort George-Buckingham House Site Location

stratigraphic control.) In addition, there has been no long-term occupation of the immediate area by Europeans or by Natives since the posts were abandoned.

Fort George and Buckingham House lie only 300 m apart. The area to be investigated between them is restricted in size and is relatively undisturbed, despite the secondary growth of aspen-poplar and bushes, the presence of free-ranging cattle, and a rusting pile of cookstoves at the centre of the site (representing centennial celebrations). Unlike the Buckingham House site, this land has not been cultivated, although, as with both forts, collections have been made from the area by local pothunters.

Both forts have been previously excavated. Thus, their location and layout have been delineated and comparative collections of European trade articles and aboriginal items, along with their associations to corresponding features, have already been made.

The location of the posts in the parkland transition zone suggests that the companies were attempting to encourage trade from both Woodlands and Plains tribes. Ethnic differences in terms of European culture transfer among the tribes are potentially detectable through study of the items brought in to trade and the European goods acquired. The problem lies in identifying these contact differences through archaeological remains of multiple contemporaneous Native occupations of a single site.

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

During the historic period of occupation, as now, the site complex was situated along the northern edge of the aspen grove parkland transition zone amidst a mosaic of grasslands and coniferous, mixed and deciduous forests (Bird 1961:3; Rowe 1972:35). This location, on the North Saskatchewan River, provided access to the fur-bearing 'Strong Woods' of the north and to meat supplies for pemmican production in the form of the prairie and parkland buffalo to the south. In fact, the fundamental purpose of these 'Fortes des Prairies', as the North West Company establishments were known, was to outfit the Athabasca River brigades of the boreal forest with meat (MacGregor 1949:86-89; Morton 1929:52, 54-55).

According to John McDonald of Garth, a North West Company employee, Fort George was built in 1792:

> . . . upon the margin of a fine hummock of pine, upon a rising hill or bank with the North Saskatchewan in front - - with banks in that place of Strongwoods - - for perhaps a mile in Breadth & twenty in length along the River, as it were [?] a Shelter for the different kinds of Deers, particularly the Moose Deers. (Public Archives of Canada [PAC] MG19, A17 cited in Babcock 1983:22).

More precisely, the fort lies 450 m back from the river (elevation 578.13 m) on the uppermost of a series of steep river terraces. These terraces are bisected by ravines; one lies 200 m east of Fort George, another 250 m west. Just beyond the western ravine lies the Buckingham House site, 300 m upriver (Figure 2). (Distances are measured with references to the cairns erected on the sites by Historic Sites Services). Buckingham House is also located on the highest river terrace although it is set somewhat further back than Fort George, and like, Fort George, it was surrounded by conifers during the period of European occupancy (Hudson Bay Company Archives [HBCA] B.24/a/1 7 Oct. 1792). Drinking water was obtained initially from a stream running in the ravine adjacent to Buckingham House (HBCA B.24/a/1 7 Oct. 1792). Later, a well was excavated, probably in the ravine, and was shared by both posts (Masson 1960:50-51).

The location of the posts in relation to the river appears inconvenient to say the least. The bank below Buckingham House is even steeper and more difficult to negotiate than that at Fort George. Added to this was the fact that the distance of the posts from the river landing(s) made for an awkward journey, especially when transporting items from the boats (HBCA B.24/a/1 Oct. 12 1792; HBCA B.49/a/27b May 3 1797). It has been suggested by Babcock (1983:24) and others that these Fortes des Prairies, set either on islands or on cleared level land above the steeply sloped north bank of the river, may have been a deliberate attempt to deter aggressive Plains tribes (who lacked a means of river travel) from attacking.

Several, not necessarily mutually exclusive, locations for the temporary Native trading camp are possible. Archival and surficial evidence for these locales will be discussed in chapters three and four. The area selected for this investigation is believed to have been the most likely location for the plantation. This land, between the two trading posts, is bounded on the west by a small ravine, beyond which lies Buckingham House, on the east by the palisade enclosing Fort George, and on the south, by the southern edge of the uppermost terrace of the North Saskatchewan River (Figure 2). References to "tearing up and burning the stumps arround (sic) the Fort [George] to clear a spot for the Indian lodges" suggest that during the time of historic occupation, the plantation was initially covered in trees (Morton 1929:37).

North of the forts, the land was gently rolling and covered with mixed-wood boreal forest and small prairies (Nicks and Hurlburt 1977:2). The south side of the river was well-forested and provided a habitat for moose and elk (Coues 1897:546). According to Nicks (1969:14), birch must have been irregularly distributed in the area since fort employees were sent away for days at a time to collect birch bark. Today, willows are located in low-lying areas and berries, including wild strawberries, raspberries, pincherries, chokecherries, saskatoons and blueberries, cover the banks and land north of the sites (Losey 1980:4).

Fish and waterfowl were available in the lakes to the north and east of the posts (Losey et al. 1978:4). However, the most important food sources for the Europeans were the large mammals, such as the Plains bison which moved into the parkland in the winter, and elk, moose, deer and bear. Local fur resources included beaver, muskrat, mink, marten, river otter, fisher and lynx (Losey 1980:4). Foxes, wolves, coyotes, rabbits, weasels and badgers irregularly frequented the parkland as well (Nicks and Hurlburt 1977:1).

The climate is considered continental. Then, as now, long, cold winters (-18° C to -15° C, January average) followed short, warm summers (15° C, July average) (Hardy 1975:56,61). The soil is a poorly-developed local glacial outwash of sand and gravel classified as one of the Black and Dark Grey Wooded Soils (Hardy 1975, cited in Losey et al. 1978:2).

Only three years after the post was erected, in 1795, "the Country arround Fort George [was] entirely ruined", according to Duncan McGillivray, the post's factor (Morton 1929:77). However, McGillivray may have been referring to pelt overharvest and the resulting loss of profit rather than to the change in local vegetation (Morton 1973:454). In fact, as late as 1810 , several

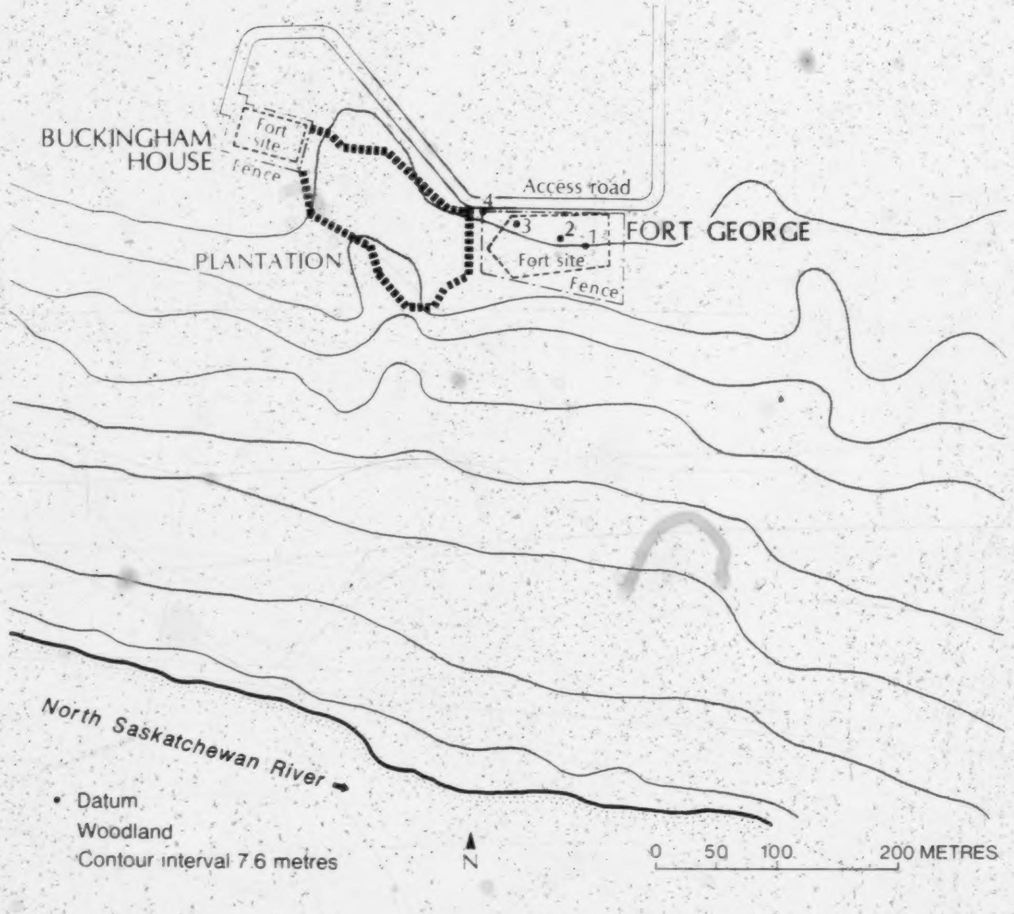

BUCKINGHAM HOUSE
Fort site
Fence
Access road
4
3
2
1
FORT GEORGE
PLANTATION
Fort site
Fence
North Saskatchewan River
• Datum
Woodland
Contour interval 7.6 metres
N
0 50 100 200 METRES

FIGURE 2. Topographic Map Of Fort George-Buckingham House Site Complex (modified from Cornerstone Planning Group Limited 1983)

years after abandonment, the Fort George area was considered to be a good source of wood (Coues 1897:582).

In the 1880s, the area was covered in willow, spruce and poplar (Bray 1880, cited in Nicks and Hurlburt 1977:2). A 1904 land survey of township 56-6-W4, in which Fort George and Buckingham House are located, identifies the vegetation as poplar, scrub, and some spruce and jackpine interspersed with open land (Weekes 1904, cited in Nicks and Hurlburt 1977:2). In 1914 or 1915, the section upon which Buckingham House was located was homesteaded and portions were cleared and cultivated, although it is uncertain whether the post itself suffered any impact (Nicks and Hurlburt 1977:2). Cultivation in later years resulted in most of the site, except for the northeast corner, being cleared and broken (Nicks and Hurlburt 1977:2).

Since 1959, when one-acre plots of land enclosing each post were purchased by the government, land use has been kept to a minimum. Both sites and notably the land lying between them have been used as cattle range. Buckingham House has been excavated and subsequently levelled. Fort George has been cleared but never cultivated. Surface features at the latter site, in the form of depressions and rockpiles, are covered in grass and low shrubs. Aspen poplar woods lie between the forts and to the east of Fort George.

OCCUPATION HISTORY

Fort George was the first of the two posts to be constructed. It was built by the North West Company in the summer of 1792 after Shaw House (1789-1792), located approximately 50 km north at Moose Lake, was closed because of its relatively less accessible location and the difficulty involved in obtaining large quantities of fresh meat (Losey 1980:1). Smaller in size and manpower, the Hudson Bay Company establishment, Buckingham House, was erected a few months later. Both Fort George and Buckingham House were occupied from 1792 until 1800 when depleted fur resources forced the companies to abandon the area for Fort de L'Isle, 20 miles upstream.

As noted previously, the posts were situated to take advantage of both fur resources and supplies for making pemmican. The location of posts such as these may not have differed greatly from aboriginal sites "for the traders had to consider the problems of transportation and food supplies, and often built at traditional ingathering spots" (Nicks 1980:63). This statement is verified by archaeological evidence of a prehistoric site beneath the historic occupation at Buckingham House. The swiftness with which the Indians came to trade within the first few days of the Europeans' arrival implies a Native presence and familiarity with the area (HBCA B.24/a/1 Oct. 13 1792).

Both establishments consisted of a group of buildings and work yards surrounded by a palisade. It is in this area that archaeological attention has been focused. However, there are other features related to the companies' occupations located beyond the stockades: garbage middens, grave sites, gardens, paths and trails, a common well and the contemporaneous Native trading camps.

Archaeological surface investigations of the site complex support the idea of contemporaneous (European?) activity areas located outside of the fort enclosures. This is indicated by several additional features identified by Kidd (1970) and Losey (1980) "which probably relate to the function of Fort George or to one or more of its competitors" according to Babcock (1983:67). Kidd (1970) mapped nine features, mainly rockpiles and depressions, outside of the north palisade of Fort George. Three rock features and some trench-like forms were observed to lie east of Fort George beyond the ravine (Kidd 1970:14). Other features may lie closer to the post (Kidd 1970:13). For example, Losey (1980:181) observed the "unmistakable remains of small structures to the east of the stockade", although he did not relate their positions relative to the east ravine.

Kidd (1970:14) hypothesizes that such features may represent outlying structures or subsequently occupied localities, although there is no archival documentation to support the latter. There is some evidence that post buildings were occasionally constructed at least temporarily outside the stockades (Coues 1897:540). These features could equally represent earlier dwellings of winter partners sent to investigate the area's potential for a trading establishment (Losey 1980:181).

Other trading posts may have been established in the area, within the last year of operation of Fort George and Buckingham House. It is these enterprises which could be represented by the surface features described above. The key reference is in a letter from James Bird, factor at Edmonton House to Peter Pruden at Meadow Lake dated 18 November 1799:

> As there is a great want of Men at Buckingham House from the Great Number of Indians who come there and *the Strength of the new Oppositions* at that place I have desired Alex Flett to send to you for a couple of Men who you will please to send him as soon as possible. . . . (emphasis added) (Johnson 1967:221)

However, two months earlier, Thompson, the N.W.C. factor, wrote of the English house without any reference to other competitors. Unfortunately, few entries in his journal have survived; otherwise the document may have shed light on the question of whether independent traders had settled at the site complex.

In fur-trade terminology, the word "Opposition" was used to denote a competing trade company as in: "we had there [at Fort Augustus] (beside the Hudson Bay Company . . .) the opposition, on the other side of us of the new concern . . . [the] XY Co" (Masson 1960:22-23). The term also referred to the structure itself: "the Canadians left their Opposition" (HBCA B.24/a/6 May 16 1799). Pluralized it indicates the presence of more than one establishment (Douglas Babcock, Fort George 1989 Project Historian, pers. comm. February 1989).

The companies to which the passage could have referred to were the independent Montreal-based enterprises of either Forsyth and Company; Parker, Gerrard and Ogilvy; or the X.Y. Company (X.Y.C.) (Babcock 1983:42). The company of Parker, Gerrard and Ogilvy joined with the X.Y.C. in 1800 (Johnson 1967:203n,268) and these two companies together operated until 1804 before amalgamating with the N.W.C. (Nicks 1969:27).

Johnson (1967:284) indicates that the F.G.-B.H. area was serviced by at least the X.Y.C. as late as 1801, one year after the H.B.C. and the N.W.C. closed down their operations, for "2 men belonging to the New Company set off to go to Buckingham House for trade goods" and "3 men belonging to the New Company came here from Buckingham House". They may have used the abandoned H.B.C. premises.

Another reference, Thompson's notation (Coues 1897:561) that "Buché's canoe of the Little Society [X.Y.C.] put up 3/4 m[iles] below Fort George", suggests that the site of the X.Y.C. post was east of Fort George. However, Buché may have just spent a night on route while travelling from an X.Y.C. post, for the next journal entry notes his early morning visit to Fort George before continuing westward to Fort Augustus (near present-day Fort Saskatchewan) (M619 A8 vol 5, Sept 17 1799).

If not actually established nearby, the competition may not have been too far distant. Morton (1973:509), in an unsupported statement, suggests that the X.Y.C. was located upstream on Fort de L'Isle at the time. This competition would provide a reason for the H.B.C. and N.W.C. abandonment of the area for a new location only 20 miles further upstream, adjacent to the X.Y.C. post (Babcock 1983:42).

Unfortunately, there are no available archaeological data to distinguish cultural remains of the X.Y.C. from the H.B.C. and the N.W.C. in terms of post layout, construction techniques and material culture. However, Kehoe (1978) has reported on excavations of an early pedlar's post in Sas[illegible]chewan. This small post consisted of a few buildings mainly constructed, not of the usual horizontal wall logs, but of upright logs set in foundation trenches secured by heavy horizontal 'wall plates' (Kehoe 1978:16). Artifact types recovered from the site were indistinguishable from assemblages found at N.W.C. posts such as Fort George. Because these independent enterprises were supplied from Montreal, as was the N.W.C., and because they operated for such a short period of time, contemporaneous to the N.W.C. and the H.B.C., they would be difficult to recognize in terms of material culture if, in fact, they are located within the site complex However, perhaps construction methods will prove to be arelevant identification marker.

Undoubtedly, as suggested by both documentary and archaeological evidence, the area was briefly occupied by Europeans or Natives after the official abandonment of the posts in 1800. Archaeologically, this is evident in the firepit features lying above features associated with the

European occupation of Buckingham House (Nicks 1969:49; Nicks and Hurlburt 1977:10). Written records do not confirm whether European occupations were at the site complex or only in the general region of the posts. Alexander Henry's 1802 entry in the Fort Vermilion journal which discussed sending men "to Fort George to raft down some stockades and other wood required for repairs" makes it clear that the materials from the post were being reused (Coues 1897: 548). But, if by 1809 only the chimneys of the ruins of old Fort George were visible, as Henry states [Coues 1897:560], then the term 'Fort George' may have referred only to the general area of the abandoned post.

In 1810, Alexander Henry mentions that he sent men from Fort Vermilion "to Fort George to collect wood and build boats" (Coues 1897:548, 582, 590, 594, 595). Since the post itself was dismantled or burned between 1800 and 1809, the reference must be to trees in the general area of Fort George, the nearest lumber source to Fort Vermilion, according to Henry (Coues 1897:582). These Fort Vermilion boat builders spent a month at their task and possibly occupied the site complex, or Mooee Creek 9.6 km (5.75 miles) directly east of Fort George ("four miles by road" - Coues 1897:560) or somewhere in between. Henry (Coues 1897: 549,582,590, 594, 595,623) refers to sending his boat builders "up to Fort George" and to their location being "at Fort George", "near Fort George" and "at Mooee Creek". He also mentions meeting (Indian) horse thieves at Moose River (also known as Moose Creek) and then stopping at his boat-builders' tent "near" Fort George. All of this implies that these men were located intermediate to Moose Creek and Fort George, probably in a non-permanent structure like a tent (Coues 1897:595).

In summary, the Fort George-Buckingham House site complex consists of more than the two fort occupations whose presence has been previously confirmed both historically and archaeologically. Other features related to these occupations lie outside the posts, but have not been identified archaeologically. Archival evidence suggests the presence of a contemporaneous post nearby, perhaps the X.Y.C. There is documented later use of the general area by both Natives and Europeans. This too, has not been investigated by excavation.

Unidentified features lying north and east of Fort George may represent prior or subsequent European occupations, outlying structures associated with Fort George or competing establishments. In addition, a previously unknown structure lies between the two posts. (Results of its excavation will be discussed fully in Chapter 4). At the least, the area represents a situation of complex European occupations outside the perimeters of the known posts which makes the task of identifying Native contact and change all the more challenging.

PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

Buckingham House

Archaeological investigations were undertaken at Buckingham House in 1966 (G. Nicks 1969) and in 1971, 1972 and 1975 (J. Nicks and Hurlburt 1977).

The 1966 excavations, directed by Robert Kidd, but reported by Gertrude Nicks in her masters thesis, had the objective of a lifeways reconstruction of Buckingham House in terms of defining "the pattern of settlement; the technology of the traders; including construction methods; the material culture generally; the economy, and to some extent relationships with native peoples" (Nicks 1969:1). Artifacts were analyzed for characteristics diagnostic of the time period or of the specific trading company in order to develop a trait list with which to identify unknown historic sites. Based on the results of the excavation of two large trenches, the outer palisades were located as well as the Big House cellar. Only matrix associated with features was screened.

In retrospect, the research goals were perhaps overly ambitious given the nature and amount of field work. The area of the post was delimited, some information on palisade construction was assembled and a representative artifact assemblage was collected. In terms of assessing European relations with Native peoples, documentary evidence for the presence of Native women was discussed and descriptions of aboriginal artifacts were made. Native re-occupation of the area was not considered, despite evidence of hearths containing lithic flaking debris and trade goods.

In 1971 and 1972, additional excavations were undertaken at the site by Gertrude Nicks. The purpose, extent and results of this work are unknown since a report has yet to be completed. Some discussion of the features uncovered during these two field seasons is provided in a draft report by John Nicks and Nora Hurlburt (1977) which summarizes the architectural features.

The 1971 investigations were aimed at a thorough exposure of the palisade and buildings. To accomplish this, a grader was used to strip off the plough zone. Two gates along the south palisade were exposed, as well as all of the Big House, the four-room centre palisade containing the Blacksmith's Shop, the southwest bastion, the northwest canoe yard, the flagpole base and cache pits. Matrix screening was not uniformly undertaken.

In 1972, research attention focused on the undisturbed northeast corner and east side of the post. The palisades, the northeast (provisions) building, the northeast bastion, a clay hearth, additional canoe pits and a midden, north of the post, were studied. The artifacts indicate that domestic activities took place around the clay hearth, in the southeast corner of the yard. A hearth feature is suggestive of Native or transient European occupation of the site after initial abandonment.

Fieldwork was undertaken once again in 1975, apparently for reconstructive purposes. The goals were essentially structural: to locate the palisade gates, to determine how the palisades were constructed, to determine the presence and function of any additional buildings, and to define the nature and extent of the north and east middens (Nicks and Hurlburt 1977:10). Excavations indicated the presence of a north gate, a king post system of palisade construction (i.e., "large king posts set in deeply at intervals with smaller posts used for the sections inbetween") and an ash- and artifact-filled pit beneath the northeast building suggesting an earlier function (Nicks and Hurlburt 1977:11). There was some re-excavation of areas explored in previous years. Screening was undertaken only for midden matrix and in undisturbed areas.

The 1977 report by Nicks and Hurlburt is a summary of architectural features uncovered. As such no conclusions are presented. Neither are there any plans of the excavations (except for a rough sketch map) or artifact or faunal analyses available. A great deal of re-excavation of earlier efforts was undertaken. The resulting plan of Buckingham House indicates that it was a rectangular compound with the major buildings in the east half, a canoe yard in the northwest and possibly a horseyard in the southwest. The Big House (also known as the Main or Factor's House) was set along the north palisade and contained the post master's residence, a warehouse and a trading shop. The northeast building was identified as the provisions storehouse. The shop complex was located in the centre palisade building. The men's kitchen may have been represented by a fireplace found in the southeast corner of the fort.

An extensive prehistoric occupation found beneath the historic horizon in the northeast corner of the site was exposed sometime during the last three years of excavation. The large lithic tool collection which includes Besant projectile points has not been analyzed. It is stored at the Provincial Museum of Alberta.

Fort George

Between 1965 and 1967 (Kidd 1970) and 1977 and 1979 (Losey et al. 1978; Losey and Pyszczyk 1979; Losey 1980), archaeological research at Fort George had, as with Buckingham House, an architectural focus: to determine building construction and function and to produce a site plan. Artifacts were collected with the aim of differentiating the companies in terms of material culture.

The 1960s fieldwork included excavation of the Main (or Factor's) House, the West Men's House, the Blacksmith's Shop and three sides of the palisade. A preliminary faunal analysis was conducted on a sample of identifiable bone. The 1970 summary is a provisional report which provides descriptions of the general features and the artifacts. The site plan developed by Kidd is, to a degree, hypothetical, based as it is on archaeological inferences from surficial features and comparisons with other posts rather than extensive excavation (Losey et al.1978:10).

Losey et al. (1978) focused field investigations on the Main House, the West's Men's House and the Warehouse or Workshop complex. The definition of building functions and refuse disposal patterns, plus the identification of the presence of specific tradesmen, were the objectives of this research. A preliminary faunal analysis was also undertaken during the investigation. The presence of Native women as suggested by the recovery of certain aboriginal artifacts such as bone awls, fleshers and snowshoe needles was observed but not discussed in depth. With reference to the current research topic, Losey et al. (1978) examined metal projectile points to determine whether they were of Native or European manufacture. They concluded that variation in edge sharpening suggested that sharpening occurred after trade, presumably by the Indians themselves (Losey et al. 1978:99).

In 1978, (Losey and Pyszczyk 1979), the archaeological work involved complete exposure of the north, east, and south palisade lines to locate bastions, gates, interior and exterior walls. This work altered the ground plan proposed by Kidd considerably. Losey and Pyszczyk concluded that three construction phases were in evidence and associated these with deteriorating European-Native relations described in the journals. Excavation of a large cellar and further excavation of the West Living Quarters was completed with the objective of establishing fort activities using faunal and artifactual evidence synthesized with the previous season's data. Issues of settlement archaeology and social structure were addressed in this study through data collected on ethnicity and rank and space allotment by rank.

Losey (1980) concentrated field research in the last season on the east side of the compound: specifically the Blacksmith's Shop which underlies a later Men's House. The defense platform at the apex of the western palisade was also excavated. Losey (1980:iii) recognized that the complex refuse disposal system was a function of building dismantlement and that artifact provenience was therefore of less use in identifying feature functions. A magnetometer survey of the fort and surrounding area revealed the presence of additional features within the compound and "far beyond the vicinity of known buildings" (Losey 1980:iii). Unfortunately, these areas, which may indicate the locations of outlying buildings, other trading establishments or contemporaneous Native camps were not tested archaeologically.

To date, there has been no attempt at integrating the data into a comprehensive report. Recent re-analysis of the field work by Michael Foreman (pers. comm. February 1989), historic archaeologist for the Archaeological Survey of Alberta, indicates that some of the conclusions regarding the evidence for construction phases are erroneous as are, occasionally, the mapped positions of some of the features. Approximately 40% of the structures remain to be excavated. A multi-year project beginning in 1989 is planned whose ultimate goal is the final reconstruction of the site complex as a tourist facility.

STUDY METHODS

The research design developed to address the problem of identifying culture transfer in the fur trade archaeological record at this site complex consists of archival, field and laboratory components.

ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

The Hudson Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg are the repository for the Buckingham House journals written by the various factors who managed the post. The journals cover the years of occupation from 1792 to 1800, excluding 1794 and 1800. I visited the archives and studied the original documents as well as transcriptions made by Douglas Babcock.

Information on Fort George is provided by the 1794-1795 journal of Duncan McGillivray (Morton 1929). Another North West Company employee, John McDonald of Garth, dictated reminiscences of his Fort George sojourn, 60 years after he left (Masson 1960; PAC MG19 A17). Occasional references to the area are made by David Thompson (PAC MG19 A8 vol 5) and Alexander Henry (Johnson 1967) who visited the post both during the N. W. C. occupation and after abandonment.

A literature search of the Hudson Bay Company Society and Champlain Society publications for data from other posts relating to fort plantations and fort out-buildings was undertaken. Douglas Babcock was consulted for interpretations of the archival data.

FIELD RESEARCH

A preliminary site visit was made with Heinz Pyszczyk and Michael Foreman, historic sites archaeologists for the Archaeological Survey of Alberta, to locate the permanent site datums of the forts and to make a brief survey of the land between the two posts for surface evidence of historic occupations. (Datums #1 and #2 were previously established at Fort George, Datum #3 consisted of a piece of rebar set in the western half of the fort).

Upon commencement of the field season, (June 21 to September 22, 1988) a programme of judgmental and probabilistic excavation was initiated to locate subsurface features and to define activity areas. A pedestrian survey by the four-person crew was made of the area between the two posts. Surface evidence thought to be cultural, including rock concentrations, bones, depressions and mounds, were flagged with surveyor's tape. In addition, a local volunteer examined the surface with a metal detector and flagged further areas for exploratory excavation. Because of the difficulty in laying out survey transects in the bush, the area was cleared of underbrush and saplings with a gas-powered brush cutter. As additional surface features became visible, they were marked.

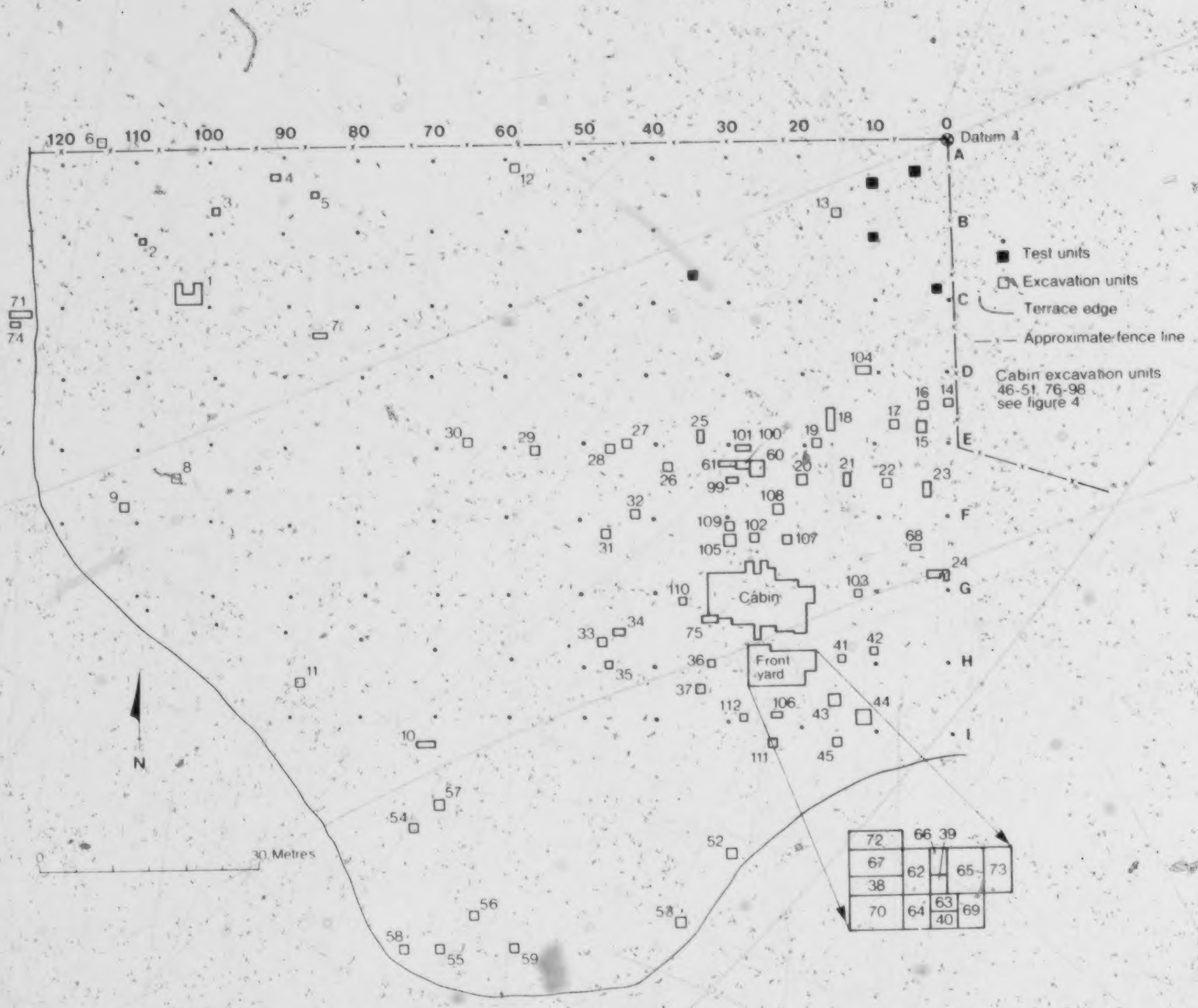
Using a transit, a baseline was established alongside and parallel to the west side of the west boundary fence of Fort George and was tied into the permanent Fort George datums. The 0N0E (#4) datum for the plantation (set in an approximate line with datums #2 and #3, 94.37 m NNW from datum #2) was placed at the N. E. corner of the site. A grid of 10 by 10 m units was then laid out by triangulating between transect lines (Figure 3). Each grid point was given a north/south and east/west designation. Test units were excavated at every 10 m point on the grid, with most of the test units being 50 cm by 50 cm in size, except for five 1 m by 1 m units. In most cases, the northwest corner of the unit was at the intersection of the grid lines. Excavation continued to a depth of 20-25 cm, well below a historic occupation zone, if one existed. The larger test units were positioned randomly within the 10 m squares, and were excavated to a depth of at least 50 cm. The matrix was not screened in these shovel tests; instead it was hand-trowelled into the unit during backfilling.

The majority of the surface features and those areas identified by metal-detectors were excavated in 1 m by 1 m units by shovelshaving until features were exposed (Figure 3). Trowelling and brushing were undertaken upon location of the features. The units were expanded as necessary. All cultural material found in situ was assigned a three-dimensional provenience. Usually, the northwest corner was chosen as unit datum and, in most cases, its elevation was included in a topographic survey completed with the assistance of Lee Jablonski, a civil engineer. All exposed features and relevant floor plans and profiles were mapped, photographed (black and white prints and colour slides) and described. Daily notes were kept by each excavator and I maintained a set of overall notes and summaries. Units were excavated in a combination of natural and cultural levels and all matrix was screened through 6 mm mesh. All units, except those relating to an historic building, were backfilled by hand. A front-end loader was used to backfill the remaining units. Since the building was completely excavated and there were no plans to return to excavate at a later date, it was not covered in plastic before backfilling was undertaken.

LABORATORY RESEARCH

The laboratory component of the research involved cataloguing and analyzing the artifacts in terms of function, material, method of manufacture, and cultural alteration, if any. Artifacts were dry-brushed and, if necessary, were washed in soap and water to reveal details for photography or analysis. The artifacts were not directly labelled; instead their containers were clearly marked. Faunal material was collected, catalogued and identified but not analyzed due to constraints of time and money and because, for this research, the assemblage was not considered appropriate for the archaeological study of culture transfer. Soil, wood and chinking samples were also collected for future analyses.

Reports from previous excavations at the posts were examined for information on trade items, Native artifacts and their contexts. Attention was focused on the artifact associations in the men's quarters where both archival and archaeological evidence for a Native female presence was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90
100
110
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Datum 4
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
Test units
Excavation units
Terrace edge
Approximate fence line
Cabin excavation units 46-51, 76-98 see figure 4
Cabin
Front yard
N
0
30 Metres
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
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FIGURE 3. Plantation Excavation Plan

strong. Previous site reports were also studied to determine the function of a building uncovered in the 1988 excavations.

CHAPTER 3

ARCHIVAL EVIDENCE FOR CONTACT AND CULTURE CHANGE

PART I DATA SOURCES

ARCHIVAL SOURCES AND LIMITATIONS

The archives examined include the daily journals, correspondence and personal accounts relating to Buckingham House and Fort George. Their value lies not simply in enhancing the archaeological record but rather in their role as a substantial source of evidence for tracing culture change through contact within the context of the fur trade despite the drawbacks of variability in the periods covered by the journals and in the amount of detail provided. Information pertaining to this culture transfer obtained from these references is organized into the following categories:

1. the possible locations for the plantation;
2. the ethnic identity of the Indian partners in the fur trade in terms of their tribal affiliation, number of individuals and home region;
3. the Native goods and services brought in, according to tribe;
4. the European goods received, by tribe and additional data on available European goods from correspondence related to shipping and receiving trade items and the production and repair of trade goods;
5. general data pertaining to aboriginal lifeways including Native activities carried out on the plantation, at the post and beyond the site complex .

Any analysis of archival data can only be as accurate as the sources it is based upon. Inherent in all research of this type is the difficulty of ascertaining the biases and distortions of the authors. Therefore, it is necessary to assess the available documents for their limitations. Much of the source data are business records written for company officials. The records tend to be formal, brief, and stylized. Detailed description is the exception. The company administrators were interested in "the number of canoes coming in to trade not who these people were or where they came from" (Russell 1982a:93).

The six journals and one personal account of Buckingham House were written by seven different people (Table 1). Given the variety of authors and writing styles in these documents, it is not surprising that the coverage is uneven.

The journals cover a period ranging from six to 14 months. Only two of them extend through the summer period (Table 1). Accounts have not survived for the 1795-1796 trading season. Typically, the entries may consist of a single line per day, such as: "Men variously employed". References are habitually made to 'generic' Indians who came to trade without disclosing their tribal affiliation or the type of goods exchanged (see for example James Gaddy's entries in the 1793-1794 journal). Hallett complicates analysis with his frequent, but ambiguous use of the term 'people' in the 1798-1799 journal. It is not clear whether it is a synonym for male employees or whether it refers to males and females.

Two drafts exist of the 1796-1797 journal written by Peter Fidler. His rough draft (HBCA B.49/a/27b) includes copious detail, omitted from the sparer, more formal final draft (HBCA B.24/a/4). Clearly, writing style varied even for a single author. In the first version, Natives are individually identified and N.W.C. activities are described. In the final copy, the Indian names and the N.W.C. activities are deleted. Additional discrepancies between the two copies exist in terms of dates, details and quantities.

The only other existing account of the Buckingham House trade, aside from some busines[illegible]respondence edited by Johnson (1967), is John McDonald of Garth's reminiscences written 60 years after the events occurred (Masson 1890; Babcock pers. comm. February 1989[1]). It is apparent that he confuses the times and the locations of events and quite possibly the events themselves.

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[1] Babcock has reread the original sources and made additional notes to Masson's transcription.

TABLE 1. Archival Data Sources

Journal Reference	Trading Season		Author
HBCA B.24/a/1	1792-1793	Oct. 11 - May 7	William Tomison
HBCA B. 24/a/2	1793-1794	May 12 - Oct. 12	James Gaddy
		Oct. 12 - June 2	William Tomison
HBCA B.24/a/3	1794-1795	Nov. 15 - May 23	James Swain
Morton 1929		Sept. - May 14*	Duncan M'Gillivray
no surviving account	1795-1796	-	-
HBCA B.49/a/27b	1796-1797	Oct.20 - May 20	Peter Fidler
HBCA B.24/a/4		Oct. 20 - May 20	Peter Fidler
HBCA B.24/a/5	1797-1798	Sept. 31 - Nov. 23	Henry Hallett
		Nov. 24 - May 21	George Sutherland
HBCA B.24/a/6	1798-1799	May 24 - May 18	Henry Hallett
PAC MG 19 A8 vol 5	1799	Sept. 5 - Sept. 28	David Thompson

*exclusive of January 1795

Unlike the Buckingham House trade, that of Fort George is not described in any surviving complete yearly records. The primary source is Duncan M'Gillivray's personal account of his year at Fort George in 1794-1795 covering the seven-and-a-half month trading period of September 29 to May 14 (Morton 1929). (A month-long illness in January prevented M'Gillivray from recounting events occurring during that time). In attempting to provide an interesting narrative for his friends M'Gillivray states his intentions frankly:

> I shall hereafter extract for your information the most material circumstances out of the Fort Journal, which I am appointed to write, for it would be an endless undertaking to mention distinctly every occurence (sic) that happens in a place of such extensive trade as this, surrounded by numerous tribes of Indians some of whom are continually at the Fort. I shall not be particular as to arrivals & departures or any thing else which would be unnecessary for you to know and which I have neither time nor inclination to enumerate being generally employed in the vocations of my duty; and to avoid frequent repetitions of the reception of, and manner of trading with the Natives of this quarter I shall once for all give you a Short account of them. (Morton 1929:29-30)

Hence, we lack the day-to-day detail that was available for Buckingham House. This is compensated by the wealth of information in the form of long accounts describing individual Indians and specific aspects of their lifeways. Although he remained at Fort George throughout the year, M'Gillivray displayed a comprehensive knowledge of events occurring beyond the post. While opportunities for bias against the Blackfoot tribe may have been introduced into M'Gillivray's observations given his probable country marriage to a Cree woman (Dictionary of Canadian Biography (vol. 5) 1983:531) and the traditional antipathy which existed between the Cree and the Blackfoot, it is unlikely. Complaints about Blackfoot 'laziness', i.e., disinterest in beaver trapping, were universal among employees of both companies. Rather, M'Gillivray's description of his alliance with a Blackfoot chief, his subsequent entry into "one of the most *honorable* (sic) *families* of the meadow " and his understanding of the Plains independence of European goods suggests an absence of bias against the Blackfoot in spite of his personal situation (Morton 1929:73). Overall, M'Gillivray's account is the most detailed and well-written of the contemporaneous documents, despite the author's occasional tendency towards moralizing when discussing the Native partiality for rum and warfare.

A portion of David Thompson's 1799, 'Journal of Occurances of Fort George' has survived (PAC MG 19 A8 vol 5). The existing entries for September 5 to September 28 reflect his acquaintance with a large area beyond the post and with the activities and movements of people that were taking place within it. Thompson identifies individual Indians, the location of their camps, and the quantity of the furs and provisions they brought in. Given its detailed nature, it is regrettable that more of this account did not survive.

PLANTATION LOCATION

The term 'plantation' was used by the H.B.C. employees in either the sense of a base or foundation on which a structure was planted or in the sense of a settlement of persons in some locality (Oxford English Dictionary, 1989, s.v. "plantation"). Scholars seem unsure of exactly what is meant by the term. Babcock (1983:14) equates it specifically with the clearing around a fort which served a multitude of functions: defense and protection (as a fireguard) as well as trade-related settlement. Nicks (1969:91-92) assumes such sites were trade camps located "in the near vicinity of the post and on the opposite bank of the river".

A survey of the primary literature published by the Champlain Society and the Hudson Bay Record Society yields little descriptive information on the character of these trade camps beyond the fact that they were large enough to hold "50 tents" or "50 canoes" worth of people (Rich 1952:163; 1954:203) and were situated very close to the posts. In some cases they actually adjoined the European fort (Lajeunesse 1960:24,25; Tyrrell 1931:386,387). These sites were briefly occupied, typically for only a few days at most[2]. Activities undertaken at the camps were restricted to drinking, smoking and socializing. According to the two, year-long accounts available at the F.G.-B.H. site complex, the trade camp was occupied intermittently throughout the year, by a variety of Native ethnic groups who frequently travelled together to the fort and who sometimes shared hearths at the trade camp. Archaeological opportunities for locating the plantation and identifying its occupants in terms of tribal affiliation would be difficult without archival sources to draw upon.

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[2] In some cases, although not at the F.G.-B.H. site complex, occupations were for longer periods when, for example, during times of hardship, the Indians depended on the post supplies or left their sick or elderly while they travelled or hunted (Brown 1980: 18-19).

The frequent references to the term 'plantation' in the contemporaneous documents of the site complex, especially in the later years, would seem to suggest a single site. However, an attempt to geographically isolate the plantation may prove unrewarding. My impression from fur trade post settlement patterns in general and from data for these posts in particular, is that there may have been several (perhaps simultaneous) sites of this type. In the following pages, I will consider the evidence for the most likely location of the plantation in the F.G.-B.H. site complex.

An examination of the journal entries in which the term is found yields virtually no information about the site's precise position relative to the posts. The term is first used in 1793-1794 and becomes increasingly common in the last three years for which journals are available (1796-1799). Most frequently, the word appears in a notation about the departure of a group of Indians. For example, on April 23, 1794 "8 tents Indians 'pitched off the Plantation'" (HBCA B.24/a/2). A variety of tribes were occupants of the site including Blackfeet, Cree, and Ojibwa Indians. The number of occupants on a given occasion ranged from two to 'a tribe'.

In only two other situations is the word 'plantation' used: (1) the daily accounts record several occasions on which the plantation was cleaned by the H.B.C. employees; and (2) in a letter by George Sutherland regarding the late arrival of spring in 1798, he states that "there still continue[s] a great deal of snow even on the plantation" (Johnson 1967:133).

The facts presented above do yield some information concerning the general character and location of the site. (1) The plantation must have been close to Buckingham House if for no other reason than the fact that eighteenth century Europeans were not known for their fastidiousness in the wilderness and would not have exerted themselves to clean a place that was beyond their usual areas of activity. References to clearing away "brushwood and rubbish around the house" and "rubbish around the stockades" may refer to preparing an area to receive tents (HBCA B.24/a/1 April 15, 1793; HBCA B.24/a/2 April 18, 1794). That the employees were able to keep a close account of when and how many tents were erected and taken down and that the Indians were close enough to Buckingham House to be 'troublesome for liquor' substantiates the conclusion of close proximity (HBCA B.24/a/6 July 8,17, 1799). (2) The plantation must have been large. On one occasion, eight tents were pitched there and it required most of the day for several employees to clean it. (3) The site was probably in constant reuse since it is difficult to believe that the post employees would concern themselves about an area that was only used once. This suggests that the term refers to a single site.

The N.W.C. records of Fort George provide more evidence for the location of the encampment. Although the term 'plantation' is never used in M'Gillivray's account, the Canadians were employed in "tearing up and burning the stumps arround (sic) the Fort to clear a Spot for the Indian lodges" in October 1794 (Morton 1929:37). Later in the spring of the following year, two hundred Blackfoot were camped "between the forts" (Morton 1929:73). At Fort Vermilion (40 km downstream), the common practise was to pitch "their tents, each party near the gates of their own trader" (Coues 1897:571). These observations provide strong support for the conclusion that the Natives camped close to the posts. Because the term 'plantation' is used only by the H.B.C. to refer to the Native trade camp and they alone regularly cleaned that site, the situation may have been that of two trade camps, one adjacent to each post. However, references to Towow Indians trading at Fort George one day and occupying the plantation the following suggest that the encampment was shared (HBCA B.24/a/6 July 16, 17, 1798).

The possibilities for the position of these campsites relative to the forts is physically limited (Figure 2). To the south of both forts, the land drops sharply to the lower river terrace. Below the bank at Buckingham House, perhaps slightly upriver, a garden was planted. Immediately east of this post lies a gully. Thus the possible locations for the campsites in the vicinity of the forts are to the north , west and east of each post. The only other reference to tenting on the north side is to

Indians from the south side of the river "pitched up above" Buckingham House (i.e., either due north or upriver to the west) (HBCA B.24/a/1 November 2, 1792).

Trade campsites may have existed on the opposite bank of the river although some of that land was reserved for a garden (HBCA B.49/a/27b May 13, 1797). This broad alluvial terrace, now cultivated, with its shallow slope to the river, would have been an ideal place for an encampment. During the early spring and fall (and presumably in the summer) when the river was open, it was a common task for the employees in 1793, 1794 and 1799 to bring Plains Indian groups across the river by boat or canoe (HBCA B.24/a/2 April 18, 19, 1794; Morton 1929:38; PAC MG19 A8 vol 5 September 18, 1799). (No details of the vessel are provided.) While the observations may simply refer to transporting Indians who had arrived on the south shore, references to ferrying trading Natives "to and fro" implies that they actually may have camped on the south side (HBCA B. 24/a/2 October 16 1793). Entries such as "[they] pitched off across the River" are ambiguous in terms of whether travel direction or camp site location is indicated (PAC MG19 A8 vol 5 September 6, 1799). Perhaps, different groups may have camped in different areas in order to reduce inter-tribal tensions. For example, in 1794, Tomison "traded with the Muddy River Indians [Peigans], and at 9 PM got the last of them across. this (sic) was done to keep peace among the sundry tribes [as] 8 tents of South'd Indians [Crees] arrived . . . " (HBCA B.24/a/2 April 18, 1794).

Native trade camps also existed at varying distances of up to several miles from the posts (HBCA B.49/a/27b November 2, 1796, April 18, 1797; Morton 1929:44, 71; PAC MG19 A 8 vol 5 September 19, 1799). In these situations, young Indian men were sent to the post with their band's furs or provisions or, alternatively, an employee was sent out to the distant camp to retrieve the items in return for trade goods. On April 15, 1794, Tomison "Sent 2 men to the Indians tents for the empty kegs, which returned in the evening" (HBCA B.24/a/2). As previous entries indicate that the Indians had left the plantation, the reference is to a camp one-half day's distance from the post. In addition, the Native hired hunters occupied both the plantation and other campsites much further from the posts (HBCA B.24/a/6 July 27, August 5, 1799).

Impoverished sites such as might result from short-term task-specific occupations by the Europeans (e.g., horse camps and stations for collecting pitch, birchbark and wood) would resemble, archaeologically, the Native plantation sites, especially if Native women and children were among the occupants of the former. Often the N.W.C. released employees to subsist by their own skills throughout the winter "in the meadows" or along the river when food supplies were low or there was an excess of manpower (Masson 1960:21; Morton 1929:35). They camped close enough to the fort hunting grounds to "frighten away the animals from the quarter where they are stationed" making it impossible for the hired hunters to kill game (Morton 1929:35). Other transient European sites included the camps of Canadian freemen who hunted furs like the Indians and received parity with them in terms of exchange values (Morton 1929:32). Sometimes these freemen camped at the plantation (HBCA B.24/a/6 July 10 ,1798).

Occasionally, the fort employees themselves would have a short-term camp in the immediate vicinity of the post. On May 3, 1797, Peter Fidler of Buckingham House sent a man "to tent below [the] bank to look after things" (HBCA B.49/a/27b). He was referring to the arrival of furs and provisions from Fort Edmonton which were to be transported to York Factory in a few days. Rather than transport the items up the steep bank to the post for those days, a man was sent down to guard them.

SUMMARY

In conclusion, other potential sites for the Native trade camps exist. Certainly the south side of the river presents a reasonable possibility. In fact, any of the area within a couple of hundred metres of the posts was potentially used for temporary trade camps. If, as suggested by the documents, the land for the plantation was not prepared until the second season of trade (1793-1794), then these temporary sites would probably relate to the first season of trade. However, the strongest evidence of a single specific location for the plantation is the unequivocal reference to two hundred Indians camped between the two forts. This is supported by references to the N.W.C. clearing the area around the post to set up Indian lodges, and to the

H.B.C. regularly cleaning the area in which such tents were pitched. The one area in which it is conceivable that all three activities could refer to is the land intermediate to the trading companies.

VISITING TRIBES

As soon as they knew the season had begun, the Natives "pour[ed] in continually from all quarters" (Morton 1929:31). On occasion there were "no less than 7 different nations at the Fort" (Morton 1929:72). Bands came to trade from far out on the Plains as well as from the surrounding Woodlands and both groups made regular use of the Parkland (Ray 1972, 1974).

This ethnic diversity is, in fact, the central challenge to the study of culture transfer present in the archaeological record. The visitors represent a multiplicity of cultural backgrounds and hence, a multiplicity of responses to the contact situation which is difficult to differentiate at a single site. In several instances, their ethnic origin is never clearly identified in the literature.

To confuse the issue, there is the thorny problem of the emergence of Plains varieties of several Woodland groups during the 1790s (the period of fort occupation), which exhibit real cultural differences from their Woodland progenitors (Andersen 1970:52-53; Howard 1977:5; Milloy 1988:21,27). Primary references to these tribes of Cree, Ojibwa and Assiniboine seldom specify their geographical location. A single term could apply equally to several different groups. The resulting semantic confusion makes attempts to reconstruct ethnohistoric populations and to correlate tribes to ecological zones difficult at best. In addition, although their physical relocation to the Plains might have been completed by the early 19th century, universal adoption of a Plains lifestyle did not always follow (Howard 1977:17). The same traditional subsistence strategies such as beaver hunting might be undertaken in both the Woodlands and the Grasslands for a number of years, provided relevant environmental conditions prevailed. Finally, there is little scholarly agreement as to what relocations were taking place and when and how they came about. (For this reason tribal locations have not been mapped. See Magne (1987) regarding the tremendous degree of variability in locations of tribes.)

For the purposes of this research I have consulted with Dr. John Foster, historian at the University of Alberta (pers. comm. August 1989), and concluded that references to Bungees signify Woodland origins; references to Cree equate with Woodland tribes (although certainly there is evidence for a proto-Plains identity in the historical records); and references to Assiniboine are to Plains/Parkland adapted tribes (with the exception of Swampy Ground Assiniboine, a Woodland band).

The best means of presenting data on the tribal identity, origin and population size of the Native trade partners is to tabulate the chronological variation in contact (Table 2). (Because the primary documents rarely covered an entire year, seasonal patterns of visitation were not evident). Two broad classes, Woodlands and Plains, were used to organize the information. A third class of unidentified Indians was used in cases where no evidence of ethnic origin was provided. Inclusion of a band into either of the geographically-based classes was a function of (1) known tribal affiliations, or (2) association with specific geographic areas. Contemporary tribal designations are used in the tables, synonyms are included in the text. Bold-faced entries represent data relating to Fort George; all other entries reflect the Buckingham House trade. Groups which initially came to one post, but ultimately conducted business with the other are recorded only once, and refer to the latter post. Excluded from Table 2 are data concerning Indians employed by the Europeans in various capacities. These specialists are discussed in Part III of the chapter.

Quantifying data about the Indians who came to trade from the journal evidence is difficult. Because exact figures are rarely provided, a numerical ranking system of minimum approximations was developed which was derived from the adjectives employed. For ambiguous references in which quantity was not indicated, such as "Blackfeet came to trade", a minimum number of 2+ was assigned. For groups described as 'a few', 'some', 'several', 'a number' 'a family', a band', 'a small band' or 'a tribe', 3+ is the minimum estimate used, based on references in which group size was described both numerically and alphabetically (see HBCA B.24/a/4 November 5, 1796; HBCA

TABLE 2. Visiting Tribes*

	TRADING SEASON						
WOODLAND TRIBES	1792-1793	1793-1794	1794-1795	1796-1797	1797-1798	1798-1799	TOTAL
Cree	8+	100+	**134+**	39+/**4**	15+	40/**15+**	355
Swampy Ground Assiniboine	7+	9+	-	-	-	9+	25
Ojibwa	-	-	**1**	8/**27+**	-	4/**14+**	54
Iroquois	-	-	-	9+	-	-	9
Indians from Moose Hills	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Indians from above/within	24	-	-	-	-	-	24
TOTAL	39	110	135	87+	15	82+	468
PLAINS TRIBES							
Blackfoot	24	16+	243+/**108+**	40/**25+**	35+	24+/**2**	517
Blood	45	5+	57+/**53+**	-	-	-	160
Peigan	33+	22+	34+/**25+**	-	-	-	114
Sarsi	30+	44+	26+	1	-	2	103
Assiniboine	32	77+	72+/1	56+/**14+**	7	26+/**14**	299
Gros Ventres	-	-	-	-	7+	-	7
TOTAL	164	169	619	136	49	68	1200
UNIDENTIFIED INDIANS	105+/3	98+	3+/**4+**	3	14+	34	264

* Numbers in **boldface** refer to the N.W.C. trade

B.49/a/27b January 7, 1797, for example). A value of 10+ was assigned to 'a large band', 'a large tribe', or 'a great many'.

Occasionally, the populations were quantified in terms of the number of lodges or tents, especially by Tomison in the first two seasons. Entries in which both the number of tents and number of individuals are provided suggest that a minimum of 5+ men per tent is a good approximation (HBCA B.24/a/1 January 17,18; March 20,22, 1793). (It is unclear whether women and children routinely accompanied the men.) All tent populations were converted to individuals using this ratio. In cases of discrepancy where the same group is referred to as '2 tents' or '5 able men', the former, larger approximation of 10+ individuals is used.

Clearly, the major drawback of this approach is that it may severely underestimate the number of Indians actually represented by using a single number to represent a variety of quantitative adjectives. 'A few" Indians is surely less than 'a number' of Indians. However, the variety of authors precludes a more exact numerical ranking of the populations. Some degree of comparability and reproducibility, in terms of population figures and frequency of contact, is assumed if these approximations are used consistently throughout the research.

WOODLAND TRIBES

Cree

As "the Principal Beaver Hunters in this Department", the Cree tribe were the most frequent Woodland visitors to the posts (Morton 1929:39), with a minimum of 355 Cree coming to the posts during the period of occupation. They were known to the H.B.C. primarily as 'Southward', 'Suthard', or 'Southern' Indians, to distinguish them from the Chipewyan or 'Northern' Indians of the Hudson Bay. They occupied areas of full boreal forest as well as areas transitional to the prairies (Smith 1981:256), primarily north of the Saskatchewan River in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Occasionally, the documents identify specific regional bands; "at the Red Deers Lake [Lac la Biche]"; "Between Edmonton House and Buckingham House . . . opposite where [they] intend wintering" (MG19 A8 vol 5 September 5, 1799; Johnson 1967: 212). Some of the regions suggest a Parkland occupation: "from the South Branch [the South Saskatchewan River]; "belongs to the lower Department"; "near the Turtle River"; "at the Battle River near the Iron Ground" (HBCA B.24/a/3 April 16, 1796; Johnson 1967:207; Morton 1929:53; PAC MG19 A8 vol 5 September 19, 1799). At other times only the distance travelled is indicated: "Yellow Bird [a Cree] slept 3 nights in coming" (HBCA B.49/a/27b May 11, 1797).

Sometime in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, some Parkland Cree bands moved onto the Plains to hunt bison (Milloy 1988:xiv; Smith 1981:264). There are several theories for why this relocation occurred. According to Ray (1972), the Cree were preadapted for this movement because of the seasonal pattern of movement of Plains fauna into and out of the Parkland transition zone. Milloy (1988:27-29) attributes the move to the decrease in beaver, the primary fur trade resource and, more generally, to the Cree entrepreneurial spirit. In this, they apparently perceived that a choice existed between beaver or buffalo hunting and that there were advantages to a Plains lifestyle in terms of its relative ease (associated with this is the use of horses) and in view of the increase in European demand for provisions. Sporadic journal references to Crees using buffalo pounds, accompanying Plains tribes such as the Assiniboine and Blackfoot to the forts with wolf pelts and provisions and wintering with the Peigans suggest a proto-Plains adaptation was already in place (Foster, pers. comm. August, 1989). (HBCA B.24/a/3 December 19, 1795; PAC MG19 A8 vol 5 September 17, 1799; Morton 1929:49,75). Due to the difficulty in distinguishing these few proto-Plains Cree from the majority of Woodlands Cree other than by the post hoc argument of 'identification by association' with other Plains tribes, I have included all Cree under the general rubric of Woodlands tribes. According to Ray (1974:99) there were few Plains Cree in 1790 and those "lived close to the forests".

Unfortunately, in the first trade season, none of the Woodland tribes are identified. However, references to Indians from Beaver Hills and Indians from 'within' and 'above' probably relate to Cree. In fact, later references do demonstrate that the unidentified Indians from Beaver Hills (25 km northeast of Edmonton, south of the Saskatchewan River) and Beaver River are Cree. Hence, these two groups have been included in the monthly totals of Cree traders.

The number of Cree coming to the posts greatly increased during the second and third trading seasons, but by 1795 their number fell. This is the year that Fort Augustus was built to handle the trade of the primary beaver hunters (the Cree, the Assiniboine and the Sarsi) as the beaver population around the Fort George and Buckingham House had declined to the point where beaver hunting was difficult (Morton 1929:77). However, McDonald attributes construction of the new fort to an attempt to keep the Cree and Blackfoot, traditional enemies, apart (Masson 1960:22). Milloy (1988:28) offers an interesting suggestion that builds on McDonald's observation and that of M'Gillivray's: the attempt to separate the Cree and Blackfoot was an effort to end the Blackfoot influence on the Cree in order to encourage the Cree to hunt beaver and abandon their growing inclination to follow a Plains lifestyle.

Patterns in the seasonal variation of contact are difficult to define, as the post accounts themselves are seasonal. According to M'Gillivray, the Cree generally brought in their winter hunt in late February or early March and brought their spring hunt in "towards the time of embarkation" [April or May] (Morton 1929:68-69). The journals, however, indicate that the visits typically occurred in fall and spring. When individuals are identified, it is possible to observe the pattern of contact between a single Cree band and the Europeans over the years. For example *Little Old Man* and his family, including his wife, *Jack a simmo*, and other members such as Old *Mans Son* and *Miminimquiss* (*Old Man's Eldest Son*) came to the posts on the following dates: April 19, 1793; January 25, March 13, 23, 28, April 1, 7, 8, May 3, 5, 8, 11, 1797, and sometime in the summer of 1799 (HBCA B.24/a/1; HBCA B.49/a/27b; PAC MG19 A8 vol 5).

These local Cree bands were the closest equivalent to the homeguard Indians of Hudson Bay (a semi-permanent population of Native employees established at the bayside posts) for they occasionally performed services for the Europeans. Certainly, as the accounts of *Little Old Man* 's band imply, contact could be very frequent and the possibility of culture transfer existed.

Swampy Ground Assiniboine

The Indians generally identified as Assiniboine were another of the most numerous of the fort visitors (N=324). They included a variety of bands which are difficult to distinguish as

Woodlands or Plains adapted people for the eighteenth century Assiniboines exhibited an "important diversity in ecological adaptations" (Andersen 1970:52). Towards the end of the century many of the Parkland Assiniboine were making increasingly greater use of the Plains. One exception seems to be the Swampy Ground Assiniboine from the area of Lac La Biche whom Thompson, in 1799, observed "still continue to prefer their ancient mode of life to living in the Plains where the rest of the tribes are" (Laurie 1957, cited in Andersen 1970:54). This group (N=25+) was identified only in the first two years of trade and in Thompson's incomplete account of the September 1799 season. Possibly authors for the intervening seasons simply identified all the Assiniboine as Stoney Indians. The journals provide no further information on this tribe except for the fact that they appeared to deal exclusively with the English.

Ojibwa

Many eastern Woodlands groups, among them the Ojibwa, followed the fur trade west as hunters, guides and interpreters. They were encouraged to migrate by the Canadians who viewed them as replacements for the Cree beaver-hunters who were adapting to a Plains lifestyle. The Ojibwa traditionally inhabited the shores of lakes Huron and Superior and Michigan and later, as the Saulteaux, moved west to Lake Winnipeg (Howard 1977:13; Jenness 1963:277; Steinbring 1981:244). M'Gillivray observed Ojibwa as far west as Le Pas and Lower Nipawi on his journey to Fort George (Morton 1929:lxiii). For the purposes of this study I have considered Indians identified as Bungees, Saulteaux and Michelinamakinak (also known as Mackinac or Montreal Indians), as well as the Towow, as members of the Ojibwa tribe (Foster, pers, comm. August 1989). The Towow Indians are never identified but the term is probably a corruption of the word 'Ottawa' (Foster pers. comm. August 1989). The Ottawa Indians originally inhabited the Georgian Bay region of Lake Huron (Jenness 1963:277).

During the period of operation of the posts, the late eighteenth century, some Ojibwa relocated to the Plains (Howard 1977:3). A considerable amount of debate surrounds the issue of the geographic location for the Bungee (and to some degree the Saulteaux). The term 'Bungee' was first used in bayside accounts relating to Woodland Ojibwa (Rogers and Taylor

1981:241). However, Howard (1977) makes a strong case for the Plains Ojibwa as the Bungee referred to during the period under consideration. On the other hand, Foster (pers. comm. August 1989) believes that references in the western fur trade journals are to Woodland Ojibwa. Certainly descriptions of their home regions and resources in the local post journals support Foster's interpretation.

The Ojibwa made a late appearance on the trade scene at Fort George and Buckingham House. Except for a solitary visit in 1794-1795, it is not until 1796-1797 and 1798-1799 that they were clearly and consistently identified. No seasonal pattern to their contact is evident (N=54). They traded primarily with the N.W.C., but mention is made of repayment of H.B.C. debts as well. Their home region is never precisely defined, but there are references to "tenting about the Red deers Lake [Lac La Biche] beyond the Beaver River" and to seven lodges of Saulteaux west of Grand Rapid, "One of whom insisted on accompanying us to our Wintering ground (which he supposes to be a good Beaver Country)" which suggests a location north of the posts (HBCA B.49/a/27b December 8, 1796; Morton 1929:18). They travelled long distances to trade: seven nights on one occasion, four on another (HBCA B.49/a/27b December 8, 1796; January 31, 1797). Sometimes the employees were sent to collect their furs (HBCA B.49/a/27b December 8, 1796). Despite the infrequent, long distance nature of their contact, at least one Ojibwa, *Nee sin a kis hock*, was known by name to the Europeans.

Iroquois

Other eastern immigrants include members of the Iroquois tribe (N=9). They are sparsely represented by individuals who came to trade during the 1796-1797 trade season. The Iroquois, including the Mohawk Indians, were initially contacted in southern Ontario and Québec in the 16th century (Jenness 1963:290; Trigger 1978:344).

Unidentified Woodland Indians

Many Native traders could only be generally assigned to a Woodlands origin. These include an unidentified Indian from Moose Hills, north of the posts; Indians 'from within' (N=20); and Indians 'from above' (N=4), either upstream (west) or inland (north). The latter two terms were used exclusively during the first month of the first trade season. They are common synonyms for inland boreal Indians, especially when tribal designations were unknown.

PLAINS TRIBES

Blackfoot

One of the most important of the visiting tribes was the Blackfoot (N=517+). They were well-represented throughout the entire trading period, for the first post in the Blackfoot area was not constructed until 1799 (Dickason 1980:30). However, the detailed N.W.C. records for 1794-1795 demonstrate their very great under-representation in the records for the other years. In many cases, however, this minimum number may be artificially large if the term was used to refer to Indians of the Blackfoot confederacy which included the Peigan and Blood tribes as well as the Blackfoot. This is probably what happened during the latter years, when the records no longer name Peigan or Blood traders.

Blackfoot territory stretched from the Rocky Mountains to Saskatchewan and from the Saskatchewan River south to the United States (Jenness 1963:317). On several occasions they travelled with other tribes including the Blood, Cree (Plains Cree?) and Gros Ventres. In fact, references to intertribal Plains trade bands are typical, although few details about home regions are supplied. Blackfoot are seldom identified individually. One exception is *Gros Blanc*, a powerful chief, who adopted the N.W.C. clerk, M'Gillivray, in a gesture of peace (Morton 1929:73).

Peigan

The Peigan were mentioned only in the first three trading seasons (N=114). Their apparent absence in later years may be due to their inclusion as Blackfoot or to the establishment of posts closer to their territory such as Edmonton House. A lack of suitable European goods may have dissuaded some Peigan from making the journey (HBCA B.24/a/1 letter dated January, 1793). Known as the Muddy (Oldman) River Indians or the Pekannow, this tribe travelled the greatest distance to trade. The southwesternmost tribe in the Blackfoot nation, their territory lay just east of the Rocky Mountains. Their relative lack of exposure to the European fur trade is suggested by the need for Fidler's preliminary tour of their home region, guided by a Peigan named *Sak e too* and by M'Gillivray's comment regarding a Peigan chief who had "never seen a Fort before, [and] was dubious where to enter" (HBCA B.24/a/1 November 6, 1792; Morton 1929:41).

According to M'Gillivray, the H.B.C. had the monopoly on the Peigan trade "owing to some old connections betwixt them" (Morton 1929:41-42). This differs from data included in Table 2 which shows that the N.W.C. had more Peigan traders in 1794-1795 than the H.B.C. had in its most successful season. The discrepancy is best understood in light of M'Gillivray's more explicit observations, noted previously in this chapter.

Blood

Trade records for the Blood Indians (N=160) exist only until 1796, undoubtedly for the same reason as the disappearance of the Peigan traders. Prior to that date, the Blood were strongly represented in the accounts, especially in the winter and spring. Nearly half of them visited the N.W.C. in a single season. Tomison's complaint about the few Blood Indians coming to trade in January 1793, despite the relatively large monthly total (N=17) reaffirms the chronic under-representation inherent in the archival records (HBCA B.24/a/1 letter dated January, 1793). The Blood territory lay intermediate to that of the Peigan to the south and the Sarsi to the north, along the eastern foothills of the Rocky Mountains eastward to the Bow and Deer Rivers.

Sarsi

The Sarsi were a small Athapaskan tribe located in the Plains who were allied with the Blackfoot (N=103) (Jenness 1963:325). Known as the 'Circee', 'Sarcee' and 'Sussee', they visited the posts almost exclusively within the first three years of occupation. According to Alexander Henry (Coues 1897:532), the Sarsi formerly occupied the north side of the Saskatchewan River, but later dwelt on the south side, south of the Beaver Hills, near the Slaves. They had broken away from the Beaver Indians (a Woodland tribe) "not long before the arrival of the Europeans" and, during the period under discussion may still have been in transition to a fully Parkland/Plains adaptation (Dickason 1980:27). Their territory is identified by Jenness

(1963:325) as between the Peace and Red Deer Rivers. Their buffalo pounds were situated close enough to the posts, that individuals could be sent in regularly for tobacco and ammunition, while the rest of the band arrived after the spring break-up (HBCA B.49/a/27b January 30, 1797).

Assiniboine

Included in this group are Plains Indians identified as 'Stone', 'Sinnuepoiet', 'Assinuepoiet', 'Barren Ground Stone' and what M'Gillivray identifies as 'Strong Wood' 'Canoe' and 'Grand River Assiniboine' (N=299). Originally the Assiniboine were a forest-adapted group, who like the Cree with whom they frequently intermarried, became Parkland dwellers several centuries prior to European contact (Andersen 1970:50). By the eighteenth century they were hunting buffalo in both the Parkland and the Plains (Ray 1974:95). Because M'Gillivray is the only observer to identify individual bands by geographic origin, an overall classification according to home region is not possible. Undoubtedly, some of the Assiniboine references are to boreal forest dwellers. In fact, a 1795 map places Stone Indians between the North Saskatchewan and Pembina Rivers (Laurie, in Andersen 1970:52).

Russell (1982b:169-172) classifies the Assiniboine into North and South branches based on geography (the southerners occupy the area south of the North Saskatchewan River and Redberry Hills) and based on behaviour (the Southern Assiniboine characterized by a lack of canoes, beaver-hunting abilities, and European goods). Morton (1929:lxiv-lxv) is more specific, noting that the Assiniboine territory lay near:

> the Hair Hills, near Red River, . . . west to the Assiniboine, to the junction of the North and South Saskatchewan, and . . . up the former branch to Fort Vermillion; south to the Battle river, then SE. to the Missourie

In 1775, Alexander Henry identified the home region of four Assiniboine groups, three of which visited Fort George in 1794-1795. The Grand River Assiniboine came from the south side of the North Saskatchewan River (Coues 1897:624). These buffalo hunters may have lived fairly close to the posts because M'Gillivray writes of "the remaining Grand River Assiniboine in this quarter" and to them coming in to trade by the north gate (Morton 1929:50,70). The Canoe

Assiniboine occupied an area further south "beyond the South Saskatchewan River and the Fishing Lakes on the Qu'Appelle River" (Morton 1929:35n). The Strong Woods Assiniboine (incorrectly identified by some as "northern Woodland Cree", see for example Milloy [1988:28]), were associated with the Battle River area in the Parkland south of the North Saskatchewan River to the South Saskatchewan River (Coues 1897:522-523) and with the Paint River (Vermilion River) 32 miles downstream from the posts where the chief planned to build a pound (Morton 1929:38). References to "the Stars Pound . . . where all the strongwoods Assiniboine were making Provisions" suggests a single band (Morton 1929: 50). Laurie (in Andersen 1970:52,56) defines them as a semi-Plains group, distinct from true Plains and Wood Stone Indians, who, nevertheless, adopted much of the horse and buffalo culture of the Plains.

The Assiniboine presence at the posts was steady through the early years of trade, but declined in 1797-1799. They tended to arrive in the fall and winter rather than towards the end of the trading season as some of the other tribes did. Several individuals are named, making the tracing of seasonal movements and frequency of European contact relatively simple. The accounts show that members of the Badger band visited Buckingham House on three occasions over a six-week period in the winter of 1796-1797, for example.

Gros Ventres

Although mentioned often, especially in reference to their attacks on other forts, the Gros Ventres were the least frequent of the Plains visitors, perhaps because of their quarrelsome nature (N=7). A single group appears once in 1798. Known as the Fall or Rapid Indians, they lived directly east of the Blackfoot confederacy, in an area between the branches of the Saskatchewan River in 1772 (Dickason 1980:31). By 1781-1782 they began to be pushed south and east to the Missouri River by the Assiniboine and Cree (Dickason 1980:31; Jenness 1963:326). They may have occupied an area as far east as Cole's Falls or Nipawa River (Morton 1929:lxvi).

UNIDENTIFIED INDIANS

Included in this category are Natives whose identity is indeterminate, such as Indians supplying provisions, beaver, wolf or fox skins and unidentified Indians coming in for tobacco. The term "Indian" was used with greatest frequency during the first two seasons (presumably because the Europeans were not able to distinguish among the tribes at this time) and in 1798-1799. Europeans who knew individual Natives by name, such as Fidler and M'Gillivray, did not use the general term.

SUMMARY

All of the Plains Indians and 95% of the Woodlands Indians could be identified by tribe. Twice as many traders came from the Plains (N=1200) as from the Woodlands (N=468). However, the Plains traders' numerical superiority does not equate with a greater dependence on the European trade. According to M'Gillivray they came for luxuries (Morton 1929:47-48). Plains Indians had a surplus of goods (in the form of provisions) and the time for long-distance travel. In addition, Buckingham House and Fort George were the posts closest to the Blackfoot territory at this time, while many posts were already established to handle the Woodland Indian trade.

The Cree are the most numerically significant of the Woodland traders. They constitute 76% of the class generally and 80% of the subset of identified Woodland tribes. Most of the other forest-dwelling Indians, except for the Swampy Ground Assiniboine, are easterners who migrated west with the fur trade. Their presence in the records is characterized by a paucity of detail regarding their number, lifeways and home region.

Each of the Plains tribes are generally well represented, except for the Gros Ventres. The Blackfoot and Assiniboine (43% and 25% respectively) visited the posts in the greatest numbers. The former's numerical superiority may be explained by the collective use of the term for three separate tribes, the latter by their relative proximity to the posts. In general, the Plains trading population declines after the first three years, perhaps as new posts were constructed closer to their home territories. This is unexpected given M'Gillivray's concern regarding the paucity of beaver:

> The Natives have already killed all the Beaver, to such a distance that they lose much time in coming to the House, during the Hunting Season. The Lower Fort will only therefore serve in future for the *Gens du Large* whilst the Crees Assiniboine and Circees, being the Principal Beaver Hunters will resort to the Forks [Fort Augustus]. (Morton 1929:77)

PART II EXCHANGE ACTIVITIES

NATIVE COMMODITIES

Traditionally, the academic and historic perspective on Native commodities has been a misleading correlation of Woodland Indians with beaver hunting and Plains people with bison provisioning. This simplistic dichotomy is expressed in the behaviour of the European traders themselves,who treated the *gens du large* , or Plains people, "with less liberality, [as] their commodities being cheifly (sic) Horses, Wolves, Fat & Pounded meat . . . are not sought after with such eagerness as the Beaver [pelt is]" (Morton 1929:31). The actual scenario is not quite as straightforward. While, in some instances, the kind and quantity of Native trade goods are broadly indicative of ethnic origin and basic lifeways, in many more cases, ethnic identity cannot be deduced from the items brought in for exchange.

The aboriginal trade items brought can be organized into three basic types: pelts, provisions and other items, such as castoreum and bark. The data have been tabulated in terms of simple presence/absence according to ethnic group (Table 3) and, when possible to quantity, for the most common items (Tables 4-7).

PELTS

From the Europeans' standpoint, procuring furs was the most important occupation of their Native trading associates. Those Indians who did not accommodate their wishes were dealt with accordingly: "They are treated with such indifference and contempt, that they resolve to return to their own lands, where they pretend to have been accustomed to receive a better reception" (Morton 1929:53). References to Native indolence always reflected a relative lack of involvement in trapping activity. Traditionally, summer was a 'pitiful' time, "when the Indians [were] generally inclined to plunder, what their poverty precludes them from purchasing in the usual way; for according to their own expression they are always pitiful in that season from the difficulty of hunting Beaver, and sometimes Scarcity of Goods" (Morton 1929:65). Other reasons given for

TABLE 3. Native Commodities

	PELTS									FOOD						OTHER					
	Beaver	Badger	Marten	Otter	Bear	Bison	Wolf	Fox	Skins	Provisions (bison)	Elk	Moose	Beaver	Geese	Berries	Castoreum	Horses	Bark	Lodges	Canoes	Clothing
WOODLAND TRIBES																					
Cree	x	-	-	x	-	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	-
Swampy Ground Assiniboine	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ojibwa	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iroquois	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indians from Moose Hills	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-
Indians from above/within	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PLAINS TRIBES																					
Blackfoot	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	-	-	x
Blood	x	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peigan	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	x
Sarsi	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Assiniboine	x	x	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gros Ventres	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UNIDENTIFIED INDIANS	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	x	-	-	-

poor hunts included injuries and illnesses and poor weather (HBCA B.24/a/2 March 18, 1794; Morton 1929:55,70,73). A prolonged winter, in which families could not travel to the posts together, necessitated a wait until the weather improved (Morton 1929:55). Occasionally the reason for low trapping returns was more social. M'Gillivray says that "The Crees are quite pitiful this Spring having amused themselves during the Winter with smoking & feasting along with the Piegans . . . they promise to be more industrious next year" (Morton 1929:75).

Some idea of what the Europeans considered to be a good trade return can be found in their descriptions of the visitors as 'very poorly gooded', 'empty-handed', 'entirely pitiful', and 'with nothing' when often the actual trade involved a few hundred skins and several hundred pounds of provisions (see for example HBCA B.24/a/1 January 29, February 1, 1794). It is difficult to determine how many furs were brought in per individual or per band since the accounts rarely identified the actual quantities of furs and groups or their members simultaneously. Other difficulties encountered in measuring the intensity of the trade involved the practise of members of two or more tribes travelling together as a trading band. In such instances, the trade totals were equally divided by the number of contributing groups (unless only a single member of a tribe was present). The pelt totals provided only sporadically in letters in other journals (e.g.,451 MB in skins were traded by November 1797 compared to a total of 70 in the daily journal) illustrate the problems inherent in the archival documents as source material for this research (Johnson 1967:128).

Not unexpectedly, the most common source of pelts was beaver. Table 4 presents the yearly totals of the beaver trade in terms of numbers of skins or number of parchment beaver (dehaired skins). 'Half beaver', or immature animals, were counted as one each. When quantities were supplied in the form of pack or bale totals, the ratio of one pack : 50 beaver was used (HBCA B.49/a/27b:58a).

What is unanticipated is the variety of tribes bringing in beaver. Indeed, in terms of identified quantities, all of the Plains Indians together would appear to have been the most significant suppliers during the first two years, although Woodland groups brought in unidentified

TABLE 4. Yearly Totals of Beaver Trade[1]

	TRADING SEASON											
	1792-1793		1793-1794		1794-1795		1796-1797		1797-1798		1798-1799	
WOODLAND TRIBES	B	P	B	P	B	P	B	P	B	P	B	P
Cree			700		1780		6				3x	x
Swampy Ground Assiniboine		x										
Ojibwa					150		x					
Iroquois							4					
Indians from Moose Hills			x									
Indians from above/within	x											
PLAINS TRIBES												
Blackfoot												
Blood	89											
Peigan			100	450								
Sarsi		550	100	930								
Assiniboine	220/x		23	450/x								
UNIDENTIFIED INDIANS	60/2x								x		x	x

[1] totals given in number of skins
B = beaver skins
P = parchment beaver
x = unidentified quantities

quantities of trade beaver more often. This challenges Milloy's (1988:28) designation of the major beaver hunters as the Bungee, Swampy Ground Assiniboine and the Strong Woods Cree, all of which are Woodland Indians. Of the leading tribes, only the Blackfoot did not appear to deal in this commodity. As the traders put it in their own system of evaluation, the Blackfoot were "the most indolent in Procuring furrs (sic)" (HBCA B.24/a/1 January 17, 1793).

However, the most important single supplier of beaver to the posts was the Cree tribe. Some of them came in every few days to exchange beaver for ammunition or rum. Their contribution was even more noteworthy given the fact that this tribe was not identified in the initial trading season. The other major beaver hunters were the Plains tribes of the Sarsi, Assiniboine and Peigan. The identification of the Cree, the Sarsi and the Assiniboine as primary suppliers of beaver skins is corroborated by M'Gillivray (Morton 1929:77). The Sarsi involvement is understandable given their geographic location and former ties with the Woodland Beaver Indians. Nevertheless, the 550 parchment beaver brought in on a single day by the Sarsi "is the most [Tomison] ever saw this Tribe bring" (HBCA B.24/a/1 November 22, 1792). The Assiniboine participation may be understood if the term includes Parkland occupants and in regards to the Peigan, Dickason (1980:29) states that "of the Blackfoot confederates, the Piegan had the most beaver in their territory, and consequently became the most active as trappers".

It is difficult to quantify the change in beaver trade over the eight years, for after M'Gillivray's 1794-1795 account, the traders rarely noted the amount of beaver traded. This is probably related to the decline in local beaver by 1795, but may equally be a function of the inadequate nature of the documentary sources. To illustrate the problem, by January 1793, the H.B.C. had traded 4000 parchment beaver, according to a letter written by Tomison, yet the daily records total only 550 for those first four months (HBCA B.24/a/1 letter dated March 1, 1793). By January 4, 1796, 2400 beaver had been traded to the English in the current season, yet no beaver trade is mentioned at all in the day-to-day accounts (Johnson 1967:54).

The daily accounts indicate that most of the other fur-bearing species brought into trade (such as badger, marten, otter, bison and bear) were minor items and as such are simply recorded as present in Table 3. However, fur bale accounts in Fidler's rough draft of the 1796-1797 season suggest that these fur bearers as well as wolverines, fishers, mink, muskrat and cat were of more significance to the trade than the daily records would indicate (7.5 % of the total fur count) (HBCA B.49/a/27b: 58 a, b).

The exceptions are the large quantities of wolf and fox skins supplied by the Plains groups (Table 5). These are recorded as number of skins, the equivalent in Made Beaver (M.B.), or in unknown numbers (indicated by x). Estimations involving prepackaged bales employed the ratio of 1 bale : 50 wolves (Morton 1929:46). As with the Native and European trade goods in general, estimates of wolf and fox skin quantities which are derived from the daily accounts greatly underrepresent the true situation, both in terms of the discrepancy in numbers between the journal accounts and the other correspondence and because my estimates were, of necessity, based on enumerating adjectives.

Wolf and fox skins traded fairly steadily throughout the years. Their quantity suggests that they were actually two of the more important commodities, yet ones which were rarely mentioned by the clerks in any description of the fur trade. In fact, only slightly fewer wolf and fox were brought in than beaver and unknown numbers of them were brought in more often. Their significance lies in the fact that they represent one of the few traits for discriminating between Woodland and Plains Native-European contact. Except for two occasions when Cree (probably Plains Cree) brought in these species, they were supplied entirely by Plains Indians. Among the Blood, Peigan and Blackfoot tribes there was fairly equal representation. The Sarsi supplied about half of what the other tribes did, which may reflect local environmental conditions less suitable for wolf and fox fur production. The Assiniboine, who were major beaver traders, brought in very little wolf and fox. This suggests a Parkland adaptation involving a retention of Woodland subsistence practises on the part of the Assiniboine. While wolf and fox are good ethnic indicators, these species are not useful archaeologically since their bones rarely became part of the local archaeological record at the fort complex because of off-site preparation and because the pelts are subsequently exported.

TABLE 5. Yearly Totals of Wolf and Fox Trade[1]

	TRADING SEASON											
	1792-1793		1793-1794		1794-1795		1796-1797		1797-1798		1798-1799	
WOODLAND TRIBES	Wolf	Fox	Wolf	Fox	Wolf	Fox	Wolf	Fox	Wolf	Fox	Wolf	Fox
Cree					x							x
Swampy Ground Assiniboine												
Ojibwa												
Iroquois												
Indians from Moose Hills												
Indians from above/within												
PLAINS INDIANS												
Blackfoot	30*	30*			400/250*/ 2x	250*	37/103*	103*	5x		500	
Blood	18/91*	90*			790/3x	350						
Peigan			580	200	365/x	325						
Sarsi	70		134		325/x	325						
Assiniboine	6								x			2x
Gros Ventres									x			
UNIDENTIFIED INDIANS											20	x

[1] totals given in number of skins
* = total in Made Beaver
x = unidentified quantities

The most numerous item in the class of trade pelts is unidentified pelts (Table 6). Virtually all tribes brought in pelts of some type. While this activity reflects a widespread aboriginal tradition of trapping fur-bearing animals, certainly the scope of the enterprise and the quantity of the product was greatly enhanced with the presence of a European market. Unfortunately, we do not know if the techniques themselves changed because of the larger quantities involved. The Woodland Indians, primarily the Cree, brought in the majority of these unidentified skins. The next most prolific producer, the Assiniboine, brought in less than half of this amount, and the other Plains tribes, the Blackfoot, the Peigan and the Sarsi brought in correspondingly lesser portions of the trade.

Table 6 also includes the Made Beaver totals in which quantity was indicated but not commodity. This categorization is of less use than the previous ones, because 'Made Beaver' could refer to beaver, other pelts, food or other items. The most important suppliers in this case are the Plains groups. It follows then that Made Beaver would most likely refer to wolf or fox skins or provisions. The term was used in the first year of trade when the quantities of both these types of items is quite low.

PROVISIONS

In terms of sheer survival, provisions in the form of beat (pounded) or dried meat, fresh meat, fat or and grease were the most important items of trade at the F.G.-B.H. site complex. Not only did the fort personnel require assistance in obtaining food for themselves, but a key reason for the posts' existence was to procure a 'portable food' for the voyageurs and for the posts situated along the Athabasca River system, which were far removed from bison herds (Masson 1890:17). In fact, nearly all the provisions supplied by the Indians were in the form of bison. Because of this practise, accounts of provisions are assumed to be bison unless specified otherwise. When moose or elk were occasionally traded they were clearly identified although their aboriginal suppliers often were not.

TABLE 6. Yearly Totals of Trade In Unidentified Skins[1] and Made Beaver[2]

	TRADING SEASON											
	1792-1793		1793-1794		1794-1795		1796-1797		1797-1798		1798-1799	
WOODLAND TRIBES	Skins	MB	Skins	MB	Skins	MB	Skins	MB	Skins	MB	Skins	MB
Cree	x		2x		845/2x		276*/2x	177	4x	70	199*/3x	70
Swampy Ground Assiniboine	3x											
Ojibwa							13/3x	222			460*	
Iroquois												
Indians from Moose Hills												
Indians from above/within	x											
PLAINS INDIANS												
Blackfoot		230			340/3x		x	274	x		x	
Blood	14	150			2x							
Peigan	x	550	175*/x		210/x							
Sarsi			2x		210/x							
Assiniboine	2x	44	8/2x	500	450/3x		40*/x	200			5/55*/x	
Gros Ventres									x			
UNIDENTIFIED INDIANS	110*/7x		4x						3x		3/140*/x	

[1] totals given in number of skins
[2] commodity identity unknown
* = total in Made Beaver
x = unidentified quantities

Other provisions included beaver flesh, geese and berries. In the majority of cases, non-bison food animals were brought in as fresh meat. Beaver flesh was not a common commodity: it was mentioned twice as a trade item. Cree and Iroquois brought in geese to trade on two occasions, reflecting their eastern origins, for geese were common items of trade on Hudson Bay. Certainly this species was not the major trade provision here that it was in eastern Canada. There is a single reference to Blackfoot Indians trading berries, presumably for pemmican production. Given the vast quantities locally available to the archaeological crew in 1988, berries may have been so plentiful during the period under study, as to be readily acquired without trade, probably by the employees' families.

Table 7 shows that bison provisions were nearly exclusively brought in by Plains Indians, especially by the Sarsi, Assiniboine and Peigan tribes (all major suppliers of beaver pelts), although bison was locally available and indeed was procured by the Europeans and fort hunters. Undoubtedly the Blackfoot and Blood Indians frequently traded provisions; however, in most cases quantities were unspecified. The general practise appeared to be to visit the posts once or twice a year with vast amounts of provisions. On a single occasion a large band of Strongwood Assiniboine brought in 2300 pounds of provisions as well as skins (Morton 1929:51).

Pounded meat was the most common form of provisions. In this form, the flesh (bone removed) was dried to preserve it, then pounded to prepare it for pemmican production. The journals suggest that very little pemmican production for the posts was undertaken by the trading Indians. Far more often, they simply provided the raw ingredients - dried meat and fat. Pounded meat was another essentially Plains product, with the Assiniboine being the largest producers of the item, followed by the Blackfoot and Blood tribes (Table 7).

Fresh meat was a rare trade item although there are several references to trade in fresh tongues. When supplied, it was usually done so by Plains Indians (Table 7). More often fresh meat was provided by the fort hunters (both Native and European).

Fat, often in the form of 'backfats' or *dépouilles* (that portion of fat lying along both sides of the thoracic vertebral spines), was often brought in to trade although it is identified only in the

TABLE 7. Yearly Totals Of Provisions Trade[1]

	1792-1793					1793-1794					1794-1795				
WOODLAND TRIBES	P	B	F	F/B	G	P	B	F	F/B	G	P	B	F	F/B	G
Cree								x			2x	40/x	x*		x
Swampy Ground															
Assiniboine															
PLAINS TRIBES															
Blackfoot	200/x										3x	740	x	421	
Blood	3x										x	400/x	x		
Peigan	0					850		100			x				
Sarsi	400					700/2x						x			
Assiniboine	400					640	50		100		x	4300/3x	2x*		3x
Gros Ventres															
UNIDENTIFIED INDIANS	3x		x					3x							

TABLE 7. continued

	1796-1797					1797-1798					1798-1799				
WOODLAND TRIBES	P	B	F	F/B	G	P	B	F	F/T	G	P	B	F	F/T	G
Cree			$3^{b}/4$*	8		x						3x	2x		
Swampy Ground											x				
Assiniboine															
PLAINS TRIBES															
Blackfoot			159*			2x	2x		x		4x	3x	x		
Blood															
Peigan															
Sarsi															
Assiniboine	x	242	159*	3050			x				2x	100/3x	x		30/x
Gros Ventres						x	x								
UNIDENTIFIED INDIANS		230		188		x	x		x			3x	$23^{b}/x$	x	

[1] totals given in number of pounds

P = provisions
B = beat or dried meat
F = fresh meat
F/B = fat or back fat

G = grease (number of bladders)
^{b} = buffalo
* = tongues
x = unidentified quantities

middle years (1795-1797). The Assiniboine and the Blackfoot were the primary producers (Table 7).

Grease was identified as another type of provisions item for exchange. Only the N.W.C. reported it (in terms of numbers of full bladders). Grease or 'tallow' or 'marrow fat', as it was known, differed from fat in its method of production: it was extracted from bones during boiling. The Cree and the Assiniboine supplied this commodity (Table 7).

OTHER TRADE ITEMS

Occasionally, aboriginal traders brought in items that were of a non-pelt, non-food nature (Table 3). Among these was castoreum traded by the Cree. Castoreum is the name for the oily contents of beaver scent sacs used aboriginally as a cure for ear-ache, as a panacea and especially as a lure to catch beaver (Concise Dictionary of Canadianisms 1967:134).

Horses were also traded. The trade of horses was unusual in that it was an exchange that was bidirectional as demand necessitated. Horses were associated with the *gens du large* but the Cree (perhaps these were the Plains Cree) made use of them as well. Consequently, no ethnic association can be made with this trade item.

Birchbark was a frequently mentioned trade item, which was brought in by the Cree as well as being secured by the post employees themselves. Once a Cree canoe was exchanged for European goods. Twice, gifts of clothing were given: a Peigan chief made a present of a war-bonnet and a Blackfoot chief made a present of "a Horse, some finely ornamented Robes leggins &c" to M'Gillivray (Morton 1929:45).

Finally, the most immaterial aboriginal trade item exchanged was the often highly exaggerated news regarding the movements, hunting success and war plans and changing allegiances of different Native groups in return for the prospect of reward. However, according to M'Gillivray the Natives were "so addicted to lying, that little of what they say relating to themselves deserves any credit" (Morton 1929:70).

> They advance a falsehood in order to increase their own importance by recounting some Warlike exploit performed by themselves or their relations. . . [However they can't forgive this behaviour in a European] they never believe him afterwards:- he is despised & neglected and subject to be insulted on every occasion for having once deviated from the truth . . . (Morton 1929:70).

SUMMARY

The archives provide a wealth of information about the items which various Native groups brought in to trade, although ethnicity is difficult to determine given the variability in the journal records and the overlap in procurement items by the various tribes. In terms of beaver-hunting and, more generally, skin procurement, tribes of both ecological regions participated in some degree. While Plains Indians brought in the majority of wolf and fox skins and provisions (especially beat or dried meat and fat), these data would not survive the archaeological record. Due to the policy of preparing skins away from the site complex or even prepackaging the furs in bales, archaeological evidence for hunting fur-bearing animals for trade would be rare on the plantation. For the same reasons of off-site preparation, little evidence for supplying provisions to the Europeans would survive except for bone residue from the less common practise of providing fresh meat. This residue would be indistinguishable from that furnished by the Europeans themselves. The other items brought into trade are of an equally perishable nature.

Generally, the goods and the cultural behaviour they reflect indicate a situation of intensifying traditional subsistence patterns by procuring more beaver and more bison using aboriginal technology in, for the most part, traditionally exploited areas, rather than one of procuring non-traditional items for a foreign market. However, some of the Woodland groups may have been turning more often to bison provisioning because of the relative ease of this activity. M'Gillivray deplores the low trade in the spring of 1795:

> We had, this time last year, about 300 Packs, but at present the warehouse scarcely contains half of that number: we shall however furnish a greater quantity of provisions this year than at any former period (Morton 1929:69).

EUROPEAN COMMODITIES

The written records of the European commodities which the Indians received provide the base from which to investigate the archaeological evidence for culture transfer. In addition to describing typical trade relations, the journals differentiate among the Native groups in terms of the type of European articles acquired and between gifts and purchases and necessities and luxuries.

Problems are, of course, endemic in the data. The most significant one is the absence of detail. Countless entries simply read: "Traded with the Indians and they went away". Rarely is information on the ethnic identity, the population size, the type and quantity of Native goods and the bartered European items presented concurrently. Therefore, it is not possible to analyze each trade interaction individually. Seldom do we know that a Sarsi and his family traded 20 skins of beaver and 50 pounds of beat meat for a gun, two brooches, and other specific European goods, for example. Another problem concerns terms such as 'debt' or 'credit' which are ambiguous. They could refer to Native goods, when, for example, employees were sent out to fetch a band's furs, or they could refer to European products such as when Indians asked for 'a little debt' (i. e., an advance of European items). The factors did not keep records of the goods sent out to them from the bayside and the York Factory trade lists do not itemize the goods according to post.

TRADE PROTOCOL

The commercial activities occurred within a ceremonial context involving gift exchange and other signs of friendship which was based on Indian custom" (Nicks 1969:25). M'Gillivray provides an account of a typical economic negotiation (Morton 1929:30-31). A few young men were sent to the posts to announce the arrival of a band. "At a few yards distance from the gate they salute(d) us with their guns " (Morton 1929:30). They were given gifts of powder, tobacco, and vermillion for their band as an inducement to trade. They were less welcome if no furs were forthcoming. At the post itself, liquor and tobacco were liberally dispensed, first in a ritualized context at the post and later in a drinking match for all on the plantation "proportioned to the Nation & quality of the Cheifs (sic)" (Morton 1929:30). Liquor, in the form of brandy or rum, was consumed heavily at the plantation for "24 hours and sometimes much longer for nothing" (Morton 1929:29).

This generosity was necessitated by the extremely competitive nature of the period, prior to the 1821 amalgamation of the N.W.C. and the H.B.C. Frequently bands would divide their favours between the two companies, playing them off against each other as dexterously as any consummate power-broker today. On more than one occasion, they traded part of their fur stock with one post, and carried the rest over to dispose of at the other post or left the area entirely: "The fatt (sic) Blood Indian . . . thinking himself not sufficiently paid, . . . loaded his horses and went off with the rest" (HBCA B.24/a/1 letter dated January 30, 1793).

> [An Indian] went to Mr. Shaw [N.W.C.] with the rest & got rigged with which he came here & gave all away & demanded a fresh suit from me, which I was obliged to Comply with before he should take his furs away. I gave him a seven gallon keg." (HBCA B.24/a/2 March 12, 1794).
>
> . . . by the quality of Liquor given at the other House is a means of making the Indians very ill to please that comes here if they don't get the same quantity. I was Obliged to give them 5 Gallons for Nothing" (HBCA B.24/a/2 April 11, 1794).
>
> It renders the Natives insolent and overbearing, being always certain of a good reception at one House, after receiving any punishment, however justly inflicted, at the other (Morton 1929:76)

After trading relations were completed on the second or third day in the Indian Hall at Fort George or in the Masters Room at Buckingham House, additional quantities of ammunition, tobacco and sundry articles were given to the departing Natives. If the Indians chose to make a summer visit, assuming they had brought in a 'tolerable good trade', they could be assured of receiving "Ammunition, Tobacco and many other articles . . . as often as they come to the fort" (Morton 1929:31). Sometimes they were given "writing [a promissory note] to send for Tobacco" (HBCA B.49/a/27b April 20, 1797). In fact, the Europeans provided ". . . all the incouragement (sic), that the Trade will allow. . ." to ensure the continued commercial partnership (HBCA B.24/a/1 January 25 1793). This encouragement could make it expensive to equip bands for a year if hunting returns were not large.

TRADE POLICIES

The journals are also revealing regarding the Indians' not inconsiderable role in the system of exchange. The Natives did not always unquestioningly accept the trade goods that the Europeans offered. They complained regularly about the quality of goods such as tobacco and actually brought some back two months after acquiring it (HBCA B.24/a/2 April 12, 1794). Trade negotiations could be terminated if the desired goods, such as 'cock and hen feathers' were unavailable (HBCA B.24/a/2 December 5, 1793). Favourite items, like tobacco, hatchets, knives and cloth, were frequently in short supply. On more than one occasion, the clerks recorded the Natives' dissatisfaction with the lack of items: "very troublesome for want of Guns Hatchets and Blankets also large Kettles" or their displeasure with ill-made items when, for example, two Sarsi would have gone to the other house simply for better hats (HBCA B.24/a/2 January 31, 1794; HBCA B.24/a/2 December 5, 1793). Routinely, poor equipment was refused. The Indians "would not take [bad ice chisels] for nothing: by sending such bad articles to this part of the Country [it] is a means to deminish (sic) the Trade, in the Room of promoting it" (HBCA B.24/a/1 January 2, 1793). In addition, poor quality goods were replaced upon request or not sold at all and reworked into other items (HBCA B.24/a/2 April 12, 1794; HBCA B.24/a/1 January 2, 1793). The net result was a loss of business for want of goods.

Once when a Blackfoot band lost their European goods to the Cree in war, they were reimbursed by the H.B.C. factor, Tomison (HBCA B.24/a/1 October 27, 1793). On one occasion, the employees' private stocks of ammunition were traded for provisions to feed them (HBCA B.49/a/27b January 30, 1797). Theft was not uncommon; however, discipline could result in greatly altered behaviour. M'Gillivray recounts one event of Gros Blanc's Blackfoot tribe returning stolen horses to the Europeans. M'Gillivray disciplined him with such severity that this:

> has produced a very sensible effect in their manners - from being insolent and overbearing they are become entirely submissive and comport themselves with great circumspection to avoid giving offence... This treatment has also produced a wonderfull (sic) alteration in their mode of trading. - I have seen one of this tribe employ a 1/2 hour in bartering a Dozen Wolves and twice as many Dépouilles and so unreasonable as to demand a Gun, Pistol, or any other article that attracted his attention for one Skin and yet seem but little dissapointed (sic) on being offered 2 feet Tobacco for it. Now: they trade more expeditiously; accept whatever is given in return for their commodities with a good grace; and seem thankful and satisfied with any trifling present, tho' our usual liberality to them is greatly withdrawn - (Morton 1929:46).

Sometimes the actual exchange was not immediate. Articles were laid away for Natives who spoke for them in the fall and would claim them later in the year once their hunting efforts were successful (B.24/a/1 letter dated January 30, 1793). For many groups, especially the Ojibwa, the employees were sent out to fetch their furs and at a later date the Indians themselves would come in for payment (HBCA B.49/a/27b December 8, 1796).

The factors held variable trade policies according to the tribe they were trading with. For instance, rum was "proportioned to the Nation & quality of the Cheif (sic)" (Morton 1929:30). As mentioned previously, the Plains Indians were treated with less liberality because their provisions and skins were not rated as highly as the beaver supplies of the other groups. In fact, M'Gillivray notes that the company "Arranged some bad Tobacco for the arrival of the Blackfoot" (Morton 1929:38).

TRADE GOODS

The European articles specifically mentioned as being traded to the Indians during the eight-season occupancy of the site complex are itemized by Native group in Table 8. Clearly, items which were universal in the trade equation were tobacco and liquor. Tobacco, of course, was already indigenous to eastern North American tribes prior to contact. During the fur trade it was distributed by the Europeans (nearly always in the form of gifts) in twists or pieces or measured off in fathoms, feet or pounds. Most often though, quantities were not provided. When identified with specific tribes it appears to be equally prevalent in nearly all of the larger

TABLE 8. European Commodities

	Tobacco	Liquor	Gun	Gun Spring	Gun Flint	Ammunition	Balls	Shot	Powder	Knife	Iron Work	Sundry Articles	Clothes	Shirt	Feathers	Vermillion	Horses	Presents	Supply	Debt/Credit
WOODLAND TRIBES																				
Cree	x	x	-	x	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	x	x	x	-	-	x	x	x	x
Ojibwa	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indians from above/within	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PLAINS TRIBES																				
Blackfoot	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	x
Blood	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Peigan	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	x
Sarsi	x	x	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
Assiniboine	x	x	-	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	x	-	-
Gros Ventres	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
UNIDENTIFIED INDIANS	x	x	x	-	x	x	x	-	x	-	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	x	x	x

groups. Tobacco was mentioned more frequently in the first years of trade, perhaps as a device by which to initiate business. Clay pipes were usually imported for the Native trade (Davies 1965:282), but aboriginal equipment could also have been used.

Liquor was an equally popular trade item which was independent of the recipients' ethnicity. For the Europeans, alcohol represented a superior trade item for two reasons: (1) its ease of transportation and storage (smaller quantities of high or undiluted wines were brought inland and mixed with water in varying strengths according to the tribes in question); and (2) its desirability to the Natives (Morton 1929:lxxiii-lxxiv). The Cree appeared to be the biggest consumers. Liquor was frequently exchanged for beaver on the few occasions it was not given as gifts. It was contained and traded in skins and kegs. Evidence for the latter vessel form lies in references to specific quantities of liquor (e.g., five gallon kegs); to collecting empty kegs at a nearby campsite and to the cooper refashioning eight gallon kegs to smaller containers (HBCA B.24/a/2 February 8, 1794)).

After tobacco and alcohol, sets of clothing or 'rigging', were the next most common trade article identified in the daily accounts, especially in the first three years. This type of trade item was mentioned so infrequently that no temporal pattern was discernable in terms of tribal acquisition of specific clothing articles. Often these outfits were made available to band and/or trade chiefs who brought in good trade. According to Morton (1929:74n), these outfits consisted of a calico coat, other garments, a tall hat and a flag. M'Gillivray specifically mentions shirts and feather decorations (Morton 1929). "Chiefs whose bands had been indolent and had not hunted and were not able to pay their credits were deprived of their position by withholding these symbols of office" (Morton 1929:74n). Both Plains tribes and Cree Indians received clothing, although the largest single purchasing group were the Cree. On one occasion, 22 chiefs from a variety of tribes were clothed, an unusually large number according to M'Gillivray (Morton 1929:75).

Guns are mentioned very infrequently in the trade accounts perhaps because few were sold or they were purchased previously at other posts. Except for a single purchase by a Towow Indian, the Sarsi were the only consumers identified, and only in the first two seasons of trade.

The eighteen guns they purchased in 1793 were "more than half of what [the company] had" (HBCA B.24/a/2 December 7, 1793). Gun parts, including gun springs and flints which imply gun use are identified only in the 1796-1797 report. Ray (1974:73) has observed a decreased demand for firearms in the eighteenth century which was not due to supply shortages or price increases. However, while guns were not often mentioned, ammunition in the form of balls, shot and powder were common trade items (Table 9). In about half the trading situations, ammunition was exchanged in the form of gifts. References to this trade item were sporadic; no mention of ammunition was made at all in 1797-1798. The Cree were the recipients most often identified.

The presence of guns among the Plains people is somewhat surprising given their predilection for traditional methods of subsistence procurement (e.g., using buffalo pounds). However, bison may have been dispatched with guns once in the pound or taken with them while on horseback. More commonly, guns were sought after as prestige items or as weapons of war, rather than as solely subsistence tools. The chronic complaints by the factors that they were unable to supply guns and therefore lost potential business are suggestive of the faulty nature of these items, not necessarily their popularity (HBCA B.24/a/2 January 19, 1794).

Some articles were mentioned only a few times. Knives were reportedly traded to Plains Indians on two occasions. Ironwork, which could refer to any number of items (hatchets, knives, awls, etc) was acquired by the Ojibwa on at least one occasion. 'Sundry articles' was an unrevealing term used frequently in the first two seasons usually in reference to gift items. Finally, general references to presents, supplies, and debts or credits were common. Unfortunately details on the nature of the items are unavailable nor is any ethnic pattern of acquisition apparent.

Regrettably, a straightforward division of Plains and Woodland tribes based on the type of European goods they sought is not possible from the little information that is available in the daily records. All tribes were serious consumers of tobacco and alcohol. The category of guns and ammunition suffers from uneven reporting. The Sarsi were identified as gun consumers; the Cree as the major users of ammunition. As a single tribe, the Cree acquired clothing most often, although the Plains groups, especially the Assiniboine were important recipients as well.

TABLE 9. Yearly Totals Of Arms And Ammunition

	1792-1793						1793-1794						1794-1795					
	G	H	A	B	S	P	G	H	A	B	S	P	G	H	A	B	S	P
WOODLAND TRIBES																		
Cree									x*						x	100		
Ojibwa																		
Indians from above/within																		
PLAINS TRIBES																		
Blackfoot											5	4						
Blood																		
Peigan																		
Sarsi	10						18											
Assiniboine																x*		
Gros Ventres																		
UNIDENTIFIED INDIANS	8		3x															

	1796-1797						1797-1798						1798-1799					
	G	H	A	B	S	P	G	H	A	B	S	P	G	H	A	B	S	P
WOODLAND TRIBES																		
Cree		1	x*												x*			x*
Ojibwa	1																	
Indians from above/within																		
PLAINS TRIBES																		
Blackfoot															x*			
Blood																		
Peigan																		
Sarsi			x*												x			
Assiniboine		2																
Gros Ventres																		x*
UNIDENTIFIED INDIANS		15		510		12			2x*	x					2x*			

G = guns
H = hardware
A = ammunition (in pounds)
* = received as gifts

B = balls
S = shot (in 'measures')
P = powder
x = unidentified quantities

Categories such as presents, supplies and debts are uninformative and too sporadically mentioned to be of much use in defining ethnic patterns of material culture transfer.

As mentioned previously, competition was intense at this time between the H.B.C. and the N.W.C. and took the form of generous allotments of liquor, clothing and sundry articles and more commonly, ammunition and tobacco. Th[illegible] an especially chronic problem with the H.B.C. because they were consistently under-represented in trade goods compared with the N.W.C. Aside from the ceremonial context of the trade, gifts were forthcoming to those who were too poor to purchase them (especially if they were good hunters operating in poor weather conditions (HBCA B.24/a/1 March 14, 1793), to encourage provisions production (Morton 1929:42) and to reward a good trade (HBCA B.24/a/1 December 11, 1792). In fact, the largest quantity of goods seems to have been in the form of gifts entailing no reciprocal obligation on the part of the Indians. A case of cultural augmentation on the part of the Native traders, rather than material culture alteration seems implied.

'Purchases' included all other trade items, especially metal goods as well as the above gift items. M^{c}Gillivray outlines the rate of exchange at Fort George in 1794-1795:

> the large keg at 30 Beavers, long Guns at 14, fine Stds 8 p fm. [8 beaver skins per fathom] com : Std. 6 p fm. 3 pt. Blankets 6, 1 p [pair] Trenches 3 [or 6] [an iron instrument for cutting into the beaver houses] 1 med : Ax 2, 1 fm. B. Tobacco, 3 Beavers, 1 Spencer's Twist 2, 20 Balls 1 &c &c &c . . . (Morton 1929:30-31).

One commodity of the fur trade was horses. The going rate for a horse was "a gallon keg of Blackfoot rum, 2 fathoms of new twist Tobacco, 20 balls and powder enough for them, 1 awl, 1 scalper, 1 falcher, 1 worm, 1 P.C. glass, 1 steel and 1 flint" (Coues 1897:542). On only a single occasion was an exchange itemized. The Blackfoot band who had lost their trade goods to some Cree in battle were reimbursed by the H.B.C. for the following "Knives yew-handle 4. Large Roach 8. Powder 4 lbs. Shot Low India 5 lbs. Tobacco Brazil 6 lbs.vermillion 1 oz" (HBCA B.24/a/2 October 27, 1793). Liquor was often exchanged for beaver; ammunition was traded equally for beaver pelts or provisions. A gun traded to the Towow (Ottawa?) cost 13 skins (HBCA B.49/a/27b

May 3 ,1797). The Assiniboine Indians traded 20 of 44 Made Beaver for "nothing but Brandy" (HBCA B.24/a/1 December 20, 1792).

The most popular commodities sought after were as often luxuries as necessities although such a distinction is surely bounded by ethnocentric prejudice. For example, tobacco, generally considered a non-essential article, could certainly be viewed as necessary to ceremonial practises, while practical articles such as guns were often valued as prestige items. Depending on the tribes who purchased them, the same item could be perceived as either a luxury or as a necessity . Ray (1974:73-88, 146-156) found that clothing, guns and ammunition, and metal goods such as chisels and traps were more frequently procured as necessities by Woodland Indians than by Plains groups. Plains Indians had less need of European technology in their subsistence practises; they considered European weaponry to be a means of gaining superiority over other tribes. In the same manner, while forest-adapted Indians increasingly relied on cloth or blankets as animals came to be depleted in their hunting area, grassland tribes had a steady source of skins from bison.

In terms of sheer quantity, it was the luxury items like rum, tobacco, and chief's clothing and to a lesser extent feathers, gartering and vermillion that were most commonly received, although most of these were often exchanged in the form of gifts. According to the journal accounts, necessities (i.e., items related to subsistence technology) which included guns, ammunition and other iron tools were less frequently identified. This may be due in part to the use of terms such as 'sundry articles' and 'iron work' rather than specific names such as 'hatchets', 'blankets' ,etc.

ADDITIONAL DATA ON AVAILABLE EUROPEAN GOODS

In addition to the trade goods data provided in accounts of the actual transactions, the documents also supply information on available European trade goods through descriptions of trade-related activities of the fort employees (Table 10). These include correspondence related to shipping and receiving trade items and the production and repair of trade goods.

TABLE 10. Additional European Commodities

		TRADING SEASON					
CLASS	ITEM	1792-3	1793-4	1794-5	1796-7	1797-8	1799
Luxury Goods	Tobacco		x	x	343 lb		
	Tobacco boxes						
	- japanned				15		
	- wooden				6		
	Liquor	2 k	28 g	10 k	8k		
	Kegs		11+				
Guns and Ammunition	Guns	x	4+	x	10		x
	- 3.5 ft	2			28		
	- 4 ft	2					
	Pistols*				4		
	Bayonets				100		
	Gunflints	x	200		311		
	Gun Worms				370+		
	Powder				16 lb		
					3 meas.		
			3 k	1 k	2 k		
	Ball			1 bag	8 bags		
					420 ball		
	Shot				2 bags		
Tools	Arrow Barks				120		
	Knives			x	273		
	- scalping			144			
	- drawing		x				
	Ice Chisels	7+	x		5		
	Hatchets	x	x	20	24		
	Awl Blades	x	x		531+		
	- of iron hoops		x				
	- of beaver						
	hooks	x					
	Needles				2		
	Thread*				1		
					2 oz.		
	Firesteels	x	x		175		x
	- of files	x					
	Files				18		
	Iron Work				x		
Cooking Items	Pot				1		
	Kettle	x	x	50 lb	8+		
	Tumblers*				4		
Containers	Wood Box				1		
Personal Ornaments	Bracelets	x					
	Rings				156		
	Beads				13.5 lb		
	Combs				74		
	Paint				2 oz		

TABLE 10 continued

		TRADING SEASON					
CLASS	ITEM	1792-3	1793-4	1794-5	1796-7	1797-8	1799
Clothing	Blankets			10	24		
	Cloth	x			64.5 yds/x		
	I. Clothing	x	x	x	x		x
	Shirts*				8		
	Hats			x	14+		
	Sashes*				some 8		
	Overcoats			30			
	Sm.Boys' Coats	x	x		36+		
	Captains' Coats	x	x		7		
	Drawers				1		
	Gartering			x	36 yds.		
	Silk Handkerchiefs				12		
Transportation	Horse Bells				20		
	Horses			10			
Other	Sundry Article	x	x	x		x	

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* perhaps intended for employees only, however the reference to ". . . have sent you nearly all the Trade Goods here . . . as [per] the list enclosed" argues for their inclusion in the table (March 3, 1797 B.49/a/27b)

KEY

k = keg
g = gallon
meas. = measures

Some of the information can be found in letters and daily entries detailing articles sent to or received from other posts. For example, during the first season of trade, Manchester House (160 km downstream) was a source of additional 'sundry articles' for Buckingham House. The H.B.C. factor, Tomison, required guns, gunflints, ice chisels, cloth and brandy and received:

> two Kegs of Brandy no 4 & 72. Guns of 3 1/2 Feet 2, of 4 foot 2, Chizzels (sic) Ice broad 7, Flints 200, Trunks large 2, small 1 containing sundry s all articles with remains of two bundles left here in the fall, the two bundles now brought up, two small parcels . . . (HBCA B.24/a/1 letter dated November 14, 1792)

Two months later he requested ". . . bracelets . . . and anything else you may not want, I have only 6 Guns left" meanwhile sending to Manchester House nine dozen awl blades and three dozen firesteels made by the blacksmith (HBCA B.24/a/1 letter dated January 30 ,1793).

In the second season, old materials such as iron hoops and unsold guns were obtained from Cumberland House and refashioned or refurbished at Buckingham House (HBCA B.24/a/2 November 18, 1793; March 10, 1794). The South Branch and Island House posts were other sources of goods. The latter provided three kegs of powder, 28 gallons of brandy and 11 empty kegs to Buckingham House (HBCA B.24/a/2 February 5. 1794). In 1795, the H.B.C. factor required small knives and was obliged to obtain them from stores another factor had left at Buckingham House (Johnson 1967:50).

In 1796-1797, Buckingham House twice supplied large shipments of trade items to Edmonton House. These items, presumably available for local trade around Buckingham House as well, are included in Table 10 except for those articles probably intended for the Edmonton House employees such as a pair of corduroy breeches, a spool of thread and a few pairs of yarn stockings. The second shipment included nearly all the available trade goods at Buckingham House except for liquor, tobacco and a few yards of cloth, since business in March 1797 was slow. By the end of May 1797, supplies in the form of brandy, tobacco, guns and gunpowder came up from Nipawa to Buckingham House in anticipation of the summer trade (HBCA B.49/a/27b May 20, 1797).

Occasionally, items were 'bought from' or 'sold to' the rival company as well. At the close of the 1793-1794 season, the H.B.C. factor paid ten parchment beaver to the Fort George factor for 200 gunflints supplied to him the previous autumn. In 1797, 16 pounds of gunpowder was lent and "very bad gunpowder was returned 2 weeks later" (HBCA B.24/a/4 April 27, 1797).

Apparently, the Fort George enterprise did not suffer trade good shortages to the same degree that the H.B.C. did, although because they received requests for goods, they in turn required additional supplies including kegs of high wines, kettles, small axes (hatchets), scalping knives, gartering and other articles (Morton 1929:60). With the autumn trade nearly over in 1794, excess goods including five kegs of high wines, one keg of powder, one bag of ball, ten blankets, thirty laced capotes (hooded overcoats of wool) and ten horses were sent down to the lower *fortes des prairie* (Morton 1929:49).

Another important source of data on available trade goods are the descriptions of the H.B.C. blacksmith's activities. Frequent reference is made to the blacksmith repairing trade goods often not mentioned elsewhere. Even more interesting are the accounts of new trade articles being manufactured from other items as well as unpopular trade articles being refashioned into utilitarian items used in the fort. Many times the blacksmith repaired the guns previously purchased by Indians or repaired and cleaned trade guns broken in transit. An account of repairing one such gun "that was left here last Autumn" suggests that the Native reliance on these items may not have been absolute, given the length of time they had to do without guns and the number of times they had to bring them in for repair (HBCA B.24/a/1 January 18, 1793). These services were conducted without charge. Other trade items, such as kettles, hatchets and ice chisels sometimes required repair, especially after damage caused during shipment. Some trade articles were completely manufactured by the blacksmith: gunworms, firesteels, awl blades, drawing knives and 'small tumblers cups' (the latter may have been intended for employees). Frequently, trade items were made from worn out objects. For example, awl blades were made from ill-made beaver hooks and old iron barrel hoops (HBCA B.24/a/1,2 January 7, November 18, 1793). Worn out files were the source material for firesteels (HBCA B.24/a/1,2 March 8, 1793).

On two occasions, after Indians had refused poor-quality ice chisels, these items were made into door and gate hinges (HBCA B.24/a/1 January 2, 1793; HBCA B.24/a/2 April 22, 1794).

Information about available European goods also comes from journal entries relating to the H.B.C. tailor's activities (apparently there was no N.W.C. tailor). Peter Fidler's 1796-1797 account is the most detailed in terms of the yardage, colour and price of cloth in Made Beaver (see for example HBCA B.49/a/27b October 31, 1796). Mentioned as frequently as the blacksmith, the tailor held just as key a position, although unlike that of the blacksmith, material evidence for it would be highly perishable. Clearly, the products of the tailor's endeavours formed a significant portion of the trade to the Indians, despite the infrequent identification of clothing in the transactions. Countless entries exist relating to the tailor's manufacture of Indian clothing, leader's or captains' (i.e., trade chiefs') clothing, children's clothing or clothing for the Native fort hunter. However, few details are provided regarding the type of garment, the ethnic origin of the style or the portions, such as bone or metal decorations or fasteners, which might remain in the archaeological record. The specific garments mentioned are small coats, boys' coats, captains' coats, hats and a pair of drawers made for trade. They were made from a variety of fabrics including printed linen, cotton, baize, cloth of colours, aurora cloth, red and blue corduroy and 'fine Blue'. Thus it seems likely that the tailor-made clothing for trade was European in design, certainly in raw material and execution.

Other trade-related activities such as drying tobacco and making carrot tobacco, and drying wet cases of knives, hats and powder provide further evidence for available trade goods as do accounts of the transportation and distribution of alcohol (HBCA B.24/a/2 November 11, 1793; HBCA B.24/a/4 November,15 1796; Morton 1929:33). Liquor, sealed with the company's cypher seal and sent out to the posts in a concentrated form known as high wines, was subsequently watered down into three grades. The grade sold "at Fort George was known as Blackfoot rum", the weakest strength according to Alexander Henry, apparently because the Blackfoot were less accustomed to it but more than likely because they brought in less valuable goods (Morton 1929:lxxiv). Several times liquor kegs were cut down to make smaller kegs in which to dispense alcohol to the Indians and empty kegs were collected for subsequent reuse (HBCA B.24/a/2 April 15, 1794).

SUMMARY

As Table 10 illustrates, the additional data on available European goods greatly increase the range of European items which might be expected in an associated aboriginal site, such as a plantation. Unfortunately, the items can not be specifically related to individual tribes.

Although it is difficult to discuss comparatively, metal tools appear to have had more importance to the trade than the daily accounts would have us expect, both in terms of variety and quantity. Knives and locally made awl blades and firesteels were particularly desired. There is an unexpectedly wide range of clothing items given this category's brief mention in the trade negotiations. Personal articles such as jewellery and combs were other popular trade goods. Guns were itemized frequently in correspondence other than that related strictly to the trade transactions and, it is clear that gun parts were important trade items. Domestic articles such as kettles and glass and ceramic containers appear to have been less insignificant or even nonexistent commercial articles.

PART III NATIVE LIFEWAYS

In addition to offering insight into trade relations with the Indians, the documents provide information on other aspects of the Native lifeways. Duncan M'Gillivray's journal is especially useful in this regard, for rather than itemizing routine, he digresses into treatises on specifics of the aboriginal culture. In the following pages, evidence for the roles of the Native trade specialists and their relationships with the Europeans as well as Native behaviour at the site complex and elsewhere is presented. The ideological basis for Indian warfare and religious activities and the influence of European culture on the latter is suggested by some of M'Gillivray's observations.

NATIVE DEPENDENCE ON EUROPEAN GOODS

One of the most heated debates surrounding the issue of culture transfer is the degree of dependence on European goods the Indians experienced upon initial exposure. Nicks (1969:24) has observed that many writers, including some actually involved in the trade, argue for a great degree of dependence (however, for an alternate perspective of the contact situation see Thistle 1986). According to Harmon (1957:65-66), writing in 1802: "The Indians in this quarter [the Swan River in Manitoba] have been so long accustomed to use European goods, that it would be with difficulty that they could now obtain a livelihood without them". Duncan M'Gillivray felt that the Indian traders were "attached to our commodities . . . the only method of procuring their necessarys (sic) is by a regular and peaceable trade . . .". (Morton 1929:64). However, developing a taste for exotic luxuries, and requiring foreign goods to sustain existence are two quite different responses to contact, for as the N.W.C. factor writes elsewhere:

> The rest of our commodities are indeed usefull (sic) to the Natives, when they can afford to purchase them, but if they had hitherto lived unacquainted with European productions it would not I beleive (sic) diminish their felicity (Morton 1929:48).

M'Gillivray's treatise on the Plains Indians' attitude to trade illuminates this position. He credits their offhand response to European contact to their traditional lifeways. The Plains Indians were "so advantageously situated that they could live very happily independent of our assistance" (Morton 1929:47). This is attributed to the abundance of game, which provides food, clothing and raw materials for producing other items, and to their highly successful traditional subsistence strategies, which were such that "they stand in no need of ammunition" (Morton 1929:47). Rather, M'Gillivray claims, it was "*our luxuries* (emphasis added) that attract[ed] them to the Fort and make us so necessary to their happiness" (Morton 1929:47). According to M'Gillivray, rum was especially desired. Tobacco was another article in great demand, constituting as it did: "a principal part of their feasts & Superstitious ceremonies, and in these treaties of peace and councils of War, a few whifs (sic) out of the medicine pipe confirms the articles, that has been mutually agreed upon" (Morton 1929:47). Even ammunition was a luxury of a sort for these Indians. Its value lay in "the great advantage it gives them over their enemies". It was also used for killing beaver "but if the Fur Trade had not allured adventurers to this Country there would be no necessity for hunting this animal" (Morton 1929:47-48).

The casual attitude of the Plains Indians to the proliferation of European material culture was not only a result of their successful traditional lifeways but to the competition between the companies which:

> makes them indolent and lazy, inasmuch as they procure their necessaries at such low prices, that very few skins are then required to satisfy all their wants, and they receive besides very considerable presents either to debauch them or to insure a continuance of their Trade (Morton 1929:76)

One aspect of European culture which was readily acquired was that of consuming alcohol. According to M'Gillivray, even sworn enemies were linked by a single commonality - their urge to drink (Morton 1929:72). They relax "from their usual taciturnity in proportion to Rum allowed" (Morton 1929:30). After indulging, behaviour at the Plantation was often boisterous. "[S]ince our arrival this has been one continued scene of drunkenness and riot, of clamour and confusion" (Morton 1929:36). Everyone joined "in one diabolical clamour of singing, crying, fighting &c and to such an excess do they indulge their love of drinking that all regard to decency or decorum is forgotten" (Morton 1929:72).

Thompson's lament regarding his lack of "Lock, Funnel nor any Necessary [sic] whatever to prevent the Indians drinking in the Fort" suggests that sometimes the drinking bouts took place within the stockades (PAC MG19 A8 Vol 5 September 17, 1799). Indians occupied the posts on other occasions as well. A group of Cree, along with some H.B.C. men, took refuge in Fort George for one month for safety. They remained until lack of provisions forced their evacuation (Morton 1929:29). In 1797, *Little Old Man*, a local Cree, stowed his family's belongings at Buckingham House during the summer hiatus (HBCA B.49/a/27b March 28, 1797). These data suggest that a Native presence may be identifiable in the archaeological record at the posts. If so, it would provide a comparative baseline from which to study the artifact assemblage recovered during the 1988 excavations at the plantation.

NATIVE FORT HUNTERS

Any discussion of dependence in the fur trade must also include mention of the Europeans' reliance on the Indians. In many respects the newcomers relied heavily on the indigenous population for their basic survival as well as for the success of their business ventures. Among the various Native specialists employed, the most visible was the fort hunter. Both companies hired one or more Indians to provision the local posts, the voyageurs and the northern forts. In 1794 Fort George had six hunters in its employ (Morton 1929:35). Their term of employment ran for as much of the trading season as necessary. When not needed, the hunters were paid off and sent beaver hunting as early as January or February (HBCA B.24/a/5 January 10, 1798). During the summers when the forts remained staffed, a new summer hunter was hired in April or May. Although not clearly apparent, the 'hired hunter' usually consisted of a family of employees (HBCA B.24/a/6 June 10,11, 1798; Morton 1929:55). Sometimes these hunters could not keep the companies in supplies, and their endeavours were augmented by the

Europeans themselves. In autumn of 1796, the H.B.C. had to rely entirely on its own efforts for sustenance "... as there is not an Indian near This Place to employ to hunt ..." (HBCA B.24/a/4 October 22, 1796). The accounts suggest that the contract was not binding in the minds of the hunters who sometimes left (abruptly) to go to war or hunt beaver as the opportunities presented themselves (HBCA B.24/a/2 January 27, 1793; Morton 1929:49). Because of the sporadic nature of the documentation, neither the provisions supplied nor the European goods received by the hunters are itemized in any tables in this chapter.

The ethnic status of the fort hunters was most likely Cree. Only M'Gillivray elaborates on their identity: "*The Gun Case* & *Marching Wolf* two Crees have departed with 4 men to hunt for us" (Morton 1929:35). For the summer hunt in 1794 the N.W.C. hired *Sitting Badger, Gun Case* and another Cree to hunt as "they are brave, resolute Indians and the most likely not to abandon [the company]" (Morton 1929:76).

The hunters were based at a tent camp of varying distance from the posts and regularly sent word for men to retrieve their catch or brought in the provisions themselves. During periods in which they were at the posts, the Native hunters tented on the plantation (HBCA B.24/a/6 August 5, 1798). Fresh bison, including tongues, was the most common type of provisions they supplied, but moose and elk meat and in one case, ducks, were also welcome. Sometimes the meat was dried or beaten before it was brought to the Europeans. This pattern of subsistence practise which involves Native, off-site butchering with European assistance as well as European-only food procurement makes ethnic identification of killing and butchering activities impossible to discern. For this reason, faunal analysis was not undertaken in this study.

In return for their services, the hunters received free ammunition and clothing, liquor, and trade goods (not identified) in amounts proportional to their provisions calculated in Made Beaver: "the expenses of dry provisions may be averaged at the value of a Pack for 3 Bags of Pimitican (sic)" (Morton 1929:55). An Indian supplying ducks in 1799 received payment directly after each catch. However, the more usual practise was to pay off the hunters at the end of the season: e.g.,

". . . the two Hunters have scarcely killed 200 Buffaloes and their payment will amount to 7 or 800 Beavers, exclusive of the ammunition they have already expended. . ." (Morton 1929:55).

With one exception the fort hunters comprised the group most closely in contact with the Europeans. Conditions for acculturation were, therefore, among the best. However, although the contact was long-term (over an entire season or more), the intensity was not great (at most a few individuals were in contact over a period of a few hours or days while out hunting) nor was the contact all-encompassing. The European culture traits to which this group was exposed to were highly specific, relating as they did to subsistence activities. The type of European contact experienced by the Native hunter did not occasion a tremendous degree of ideological or behavioural change on behalf of the hunter. It was, rather, a situation of intensified traditional subsistence production behaviour for the Cree.

OTHER NATIVE SPECIALISTS

Natives were employed for other purposes as well. Frequently, Indians (probably Cree) were encouraged to collect birchbark and pitch for building and repairing canoes or at least to locate these sources for the Europeans. Usually the 'encouragement' they were accorded for these tasks was alcoholic in nature, although on one occasion two horses were given (HBCA B.24/a/1 February 26, 1793). One of their most important roles was that of guiding the Europeans. As guides they led the voyageurs from the bayside or other establishments to the inland posts, directed the Europeans to new territories in order to establish commercial alliances and scouted areas northward "to see if there is possibility of conveying goods across land to settle a post" (HBCA B.24/a/1 November 6, 1792; HBCA B.24/a/6 April 21, 1797; Masson 1960:16-17; PAC MG19 A8 vol 5 September 16, 1799). Occasionally, the Indians acted as messengers between posts - early letter carriers, in fact (Johnson 1967:212). They were also employed as interpreters. More than one reference is made to paying an employee's Native wife in trade goods for her work in "speaking to the Stone Indians several times in the Winter" (HBCA B.49/a/27b May 2, 1797).

NATIVE WIVES OF THE FORT EMPLOYEES

This last form of aboriginal employment, acting as interpreters, serves to introduce the most intense form of contact experienced by a Native group to the Europeans: that of the Native women who were the 'country wives' of the employees, and who were maintained at the forts, augmenting the population with offspring produced from these unions. These unions were not isolated occurrences, for as M'Gillivray states:"80 men and near as many Women & children" resided at Fort George (Morton 1929:41). Although the H.B.C. did not officially sanction the practise, as the N.W.C. did, it is a fact that both companies sheltered Native women and children. Despite Babcock's (1983:10) statement to the contrary, documentation for their presence at Buckingham House exists, particularly in Fidler's rough draft for the 1796-1797 season (HBCA B.49/a/27b). References are made to an employee's wife and four children as his beneficiaries, making clothing for employees' wives and children (even up to a year after an employee died), and paying family members for work undertaken (HBCA B.24/a/3 November 27, 1795; HBCA B.24/a/4 November 17, 1796; HBCA B.49/a/27b March 6, 1797). However, as Babcock (pers. comm. February 24, 1990) rightly notes, the size of the men's quarters contained in the H.B.C. Main House precludes its occupation by family members. Instead, they probably lived within the yard or close by in tents or cabins.

Kin alliances, including marriages *à la façon du pays* , between these two ethnic groups were the products of an aboriginal tradition, subsequently mutually undertaken by both parties to create and strengthen trade relations. Intermarriage was one way to ensure loyalty that would be beneficial to both parties. Indians related to women living at the fort could expect a generous rate of exchange. In turn they could be depended on to bring their furs and provisions to the fort. This is suggested by a comment in Morton (1929:41): "one of [the] chiefs being related to a woman in this Fort came at night with His furs". According to M'Gillivray the English got most of the Peigan trade "owing to some old connections, betwixt them" (Morton 1929:41-42). These 'old connections' probably referred to marriage alliances, although other trade relationships could be indicated by the phrase. Evidence exists for the widespread nature of intermarriage among the smaller enterprises as well (PAC MG19 A8 vol 5 Sept 17, 1799; Morton 1929:59).

Living at the post itself, in many cases for the length of the European occupation, meant that the duration and degree of contact under these circumstances was intense. The Native women prepared skins, netted snowshoes, made line and pemmican and acted as interpreters. Their importance to the survival and prosperity of the trade companies was incalculable. In a letter to the Governor and Committee in response to concerns expressed regarding the amount of 'goods' supplied to employees, a case is made for the importance of the Native wives:

> we wish to remark that the women are deserving of some encouragement and indulgence from your Honors, they clean and put into a state of preservation all Beavr (sic) and Otter skins brought by the Indians undried and in bad Condition. They prepare Line for Snow shoes and knit them also without which your Honors servants could not give efficient opposition to the Canadian traders they make Leather shoes for the men who are obliged to travel about in search of Indians and furs and are usefull in a variety of other instances, in short they are Virtually your Honors Servants and as such we hope you will consider them (Johnson 1967:xcix-c)

They received cloth, beads, garters, knives, thread, tobacco, silk handkerchiefs, combs, awls, firesteels, rings, needles, vermillion, tobacco boxes and unidentified wooden boxes and blankets in return.

OTHER ALLIANCES

Women were not the sole conduits to economic alliances. Pseudo-kin ties could be made between men from both societies. M'Gillivray gives a long account - really a character sketch - of one *Gros Blanc*, a Blackfoot chief who was initially involved in a rather vengeful relationship with the author. After some deliberation, he made M'Gillivray an honourary family member: "as a mark of his entire forgiveness, he adopts me for his little Brother: I now find myself become a member of one of the most *honorable (sic) families* of the meadows" (Morton 1929:73). Subsequent references are made to M'Gillivray's brother-in-law and "my Brother's *relations* " by William M'Gillivray (Morton 1929:12).

OFF-SITE NATIVE ACTIVITIES

M'Gillivray and the H.B.C. observers provide information on off-site Native activities. On at least three occasions Natives burned areas in order, according to the Europeans, to frighten away the animals "[illegible] enhance the value of their own provisions" (Morton 1929:33). This interpretation reflects the European perception of the effects of Native-induced fires. However, ethnographic studies have established that habitat burning by the Indians was a traditional practise aimed at influencing the local distribution and relative abundance of plants and animal resources (Lewis and Ferguson 1988:57).

Horse theft, a favourite activity among several groups including the Assiniboine, the Cree and the Blackfoot, was directed towards other tribes as well as towards the Europeans. After the Blackfoot had made a horse raid on the posts, they often sent emissaries from another tribe to plead their case and re-establish trade relations: "to secure a friendly reception as they seemed very apprehensive of being treated with severity" (Morton 1929:44). The Assiniboine were particularly despised by the Europeans: "if they can boast of any particular excellence, it is their dexterity at stealing horses" (Morton 1929:27). Once the Assiniboine took 84 horses and immediately abandoned the area (Morton 1929:27). The Europeans took steps to prevent such thefts by sending men away with the horses and by keeping a watch out for suspicious-looking characters: "a Suthard young man arrived brought nothing we suppose him to be one of the horse stealers" (HBCA B.24/a/6 August 12, 1799). Sometimes, the Europeans had to intercede on behalf of one tribe who had suffered a loss of horseflesh at the hands of another (Morton 1929: 32).

M'Gillivray's observations regarding Native subsistence strategies suggests a general retention of traditional hunting behaviour despite European contact. Although shifts do occur in terms of the species procured, there is a persistence of traditional techniques in all he describes. (M'Gillivray complained that the Cree from Beaver Hills are pounding buffalo instead of hunting beaver as they normally do, which is detrimental to the company's profits) (Morton 1929:49). His account of a visit to the Grand Mains buffalo pound provides a description of both the construction and the use of a pound (Morton 1929:42-44). Neither European technique nor material culture is identified in this context. Instead, traditional items including fences, buffalo robes and arrows are retained. M'Gillivray readily acknowledges the superiority of the technique: "Of all the methods which the Indians have devised for the destruction of this usefull animal, - the Pound is the most successful" (Morton 1929:44).

WARFARE

Aside from trading relations and the associated activities discussed above, the single most significant insight which the archives provide is in regards to Native warfare which M'Gillivray believed was an activity they were not able to resist (Morton 1929:62). Their targets included other Natives and Europeans alike. Gros Ventre attacks on the N.W.C. were founded on their perception of the Canadians as allies of their traditional enemy, the Cree, who were secure from attack "under the cover of the Strong wood, which all the meadow Indians regard as the greatest advantage in possession of their enemies and consequently avoid it as their mortal foe in their hostile excursions" (Morton 1929:63). This attitude put the companies in a difficult position. They had to retaliate in some way if only to guard against any further violence, yet at the same time it was "not [their] interest or inclination to estrange any tribe of Indians entirely from the Fort" (Morton 1929:64). The European concern was real and is indicative of their understanding of certain aspects of the aboriginal ideology, namely that allies could be punished if the actual perpetrators were unavailable or were too dangerous to tackle. Any other group was potentially vulnerable to a band's attacks and the Europeans' guns and palisades were not serious obstructions to attaining revenge.

Peaceful negotiations had to be completed before trade could resume and were often accomplished through use of intermediaries or emissaries. Often resumption of trade negotiations occurred at the behest of the Natives themselves, such as in the case of the Gros Ventres "[who are at the Blackfoot camp] to obtain peace of us, and our Allies that a regular communication to the Fort may be once more established, which they are said to wish for in great eagerness, the Booty which they have plundered from the H:B:Company, being now almost expended" (Morton 1929:56). When conflict was close to solution, they "depute[d] a few old men before the Band to settle the articles of Peace" (Morton 1929:61). That this antagonistic behaviour disrupted trade negotiations at Buckingham House and Fort George is implied in accounts of both trading instantly to prevent quarrels and of crossing certain Indians to the south side of the river to separate them from other bands arriving in order "to keep peace among the sundry tribes" (HBCA B.24/a/2 April 18, 1794; Morton 1929:34). The Europeans were grateful for the times that passed without incident (Johnson 1967:203).

Such skirmishes could affect the very possibility of direct Native-European contact. The Kootenay Indians of southeastern British Columbia made several attempts to trade at Fort George which were quashed by Plains Tribes (Morton 1929:56). Plains resistance was based on a desire to retain an exclusive trade among themselves and thus prevent the Kootenays, long-time enemies, from obtaining arms to defend themselves, and thus sharing the same advantage they themselves held. (However, the Kootenay may have had access to other European goods through a network of Native middlemen). For their final assay, the Kootenays planned to bribe their enemies with horses but M'Gillivray expected them to fail again (Morton 1929:56). And in fact, we read no more about them in the subsequent accounts.

NATIVE IDEOLOGY

Some aspects of the Native belief system are also revealed in the accounts. During the European occupation of the area, several Indian deaths were recorded. To M'Gillivray "they seem careless of existence and say 'they have thrown away their bodies' untill (sic) his manes [soul, spirit] be satisfied by the Blood of his enemy" (Morton 1929:7). Upon the death of one Indian,"he was interred without any other ceremony than killing a horse upon his grave to run the Buffalo in the land of the Spirits" (Morton 1929:72). In another case, a woman, dying of stab wounds inflicted by her husband, asked that her newly stillborn child "be Interred by her side. She also requests to be wrapt (sic) up in a fathom of fine Strouds that she might appear with decency before her ancestors in the land of the Spirits" (Morton 1929:33).

Both accounts refer to an afterlife that is a continuation of the present life, populated by a multitude of spirits. The traditional aboriginal perspective on death and the afterlife appears unmodified by contact with European religion. The fact that European goods (in the form of woolen cloth) are replacing traditional skins certainly argues for a transfer of material culture, but does not imply an associated transmission of ideology. Rather, the foreign clothing which replaced the Native garment is incorporated into a traditional belief - that of being appropriately garbed before the souls of one's ancestors.

Some of the Indians may have used the knowledge that the Europeans held concerning aboriginal ideology to forward baser desires. M'Gillivray had his suspicions when a young boy died. The boy's mother reacted in a manner typical of Natives by deep mourning and crying. She was disconsolate but:

> After the child was interred, his mother pretended to have been visited by the Ghost of her deceased husband, who expressed a great desire of drinking Rum and commanded her to procure him some . . . to sacrifice his manes, that the ghost might rest in peace in the *land* of the *Spirits* : - Whether this scene passed in her troubled immagination (sic) or was invented merely to satisfy her own appetite for Rum, we know not, . . . instead of applying it to the pious purpose for which it was given her, She very deliberately conveyed a pot of it to her mouth; fixed her eyes on

> the roof of the House in an extacy (sic) and emptied it to the Bottom: . . . and soon lost remembrance of her son in a fit of drunken clamour (Morton 1929:61).

SUMMARY

The archival evidence suggests a number of occasions in which European contact could have affected aspects of Native lifeways. In two of the three contact situations normally experienced, that of trading and that of hunting for the posts, contact is fairly sporadic and unidimensional. It is within the context of marriage between Europeans and Indians and family life that one group of Indians was exposed to sustained contact and the possibility of significant culture transfer existed. Wives of the employees had greater access to European goods than most of the general Native population, although aspects of their technology may have remained traditional. This may have been due, in part, to the maintenance of kin relations with their own people and their continued incorporation into traditional social structure.

CHAPTER 4

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR CONTACT AND CULTURE CHANGE

DATA SOURCES

The archaeological evidence for contact and culture change considered in this study consists, in part, of data obtained from investigations of a 120 m by 80 m area of land lying between Fort George and Buckingham House. After clearing the ground of underbrush and saplings, a programme of judgmental and probabalistic test excavation was undertaken. In total, 112 test units (generally 50 x 50 cm in size) and 112 larger excavation units (e.g., 1 x 1 m; 1 x 4 m) were opened. In all, 275.1 square metres (61.3 cubic metres) of matrix yielded 621 artifacts as well as an undetermined amount of bone (see Figure 3, Chapter 2 for the excavation plan). I have compared the features and associated material culture exposed with data collected during previous investigations of the employees' residences at Fort George. These men's quarters represent the best sources of information about Native-European contact and the subsequent effects to aboriginal culture available *within* the post. The associated assemblages reflect the material culture correlates of the contact situation as it is expressed in the country marriages between the European employees and the Native women.

Archaeological data from Buckingham House were not used for the following reasons: (1) the subsequent site disturbance from cultivation together with the practise of treating the artifacts recovered as a single assemblage made the association of function and feature difficult (for example, the original men's residence was located in the Main House and was never analyzed as a discrete activity area); and (2) the 1970s investigations, which did involve excavations of separate rowhouses for the employees were never reported.

RESULTS - PLANTATION TEST EXCAVATIONS

RANDOM SAMPLING PROGRAMME

As part of the archaeological permit requirements of the Archaeological Survey of Alberta, a programme of random sampling was undertaken early in the season in order to develop a density distribution map of the material culture evidence. The programme consisted of shovel-testing 112 excavation units set in a grid of 10 x 10 m squares. The grid was produced with a combination of transit survey to set the baseline and triangulation to plot in the units. Lines H and I were set in with hand compasses. The majority of the units, (N=107), were 50 x 50 cm in size and were set 10 m apart. When possible, the units were oriented so that the northeast corners were on the 10 m mark. The other five units were 1 x 1 m squares in area and were set randomly within their respective 10 x 10 m grid squares (see Figure 3). The total area excavated with these test units was 31.75 m^2. This represents 0.35 % of the total Plantation area (9100 m^2) bounded by the north and east fences, west ravine, and south terrace slope.

Artifacts were found in only two test units, G-20 and G-30. Two nails and a brass wedge fashioned from a kettle handle were recovered. Bone fragments were found in nine units. Because the artifact-bearing units lie within the area of a cabin in the southeast portion of the plantation, they are included in discussion of its excavation.

This random sampling programme was unproductive in terms of the data retrieved relative to the effort expended. In addition, the problem of periodicity in the random sampling grid must be considered, since subsurface cultural deposits may lay undetected at intervals which did not coincide with the 10 m grid which was used. A more successful research approach involved careful surface survey of the area and a judgmental programme of excavation based on the evidence of surface features.

JUDGMENTAL SAMPLING PROGRAMME

After clearing the area of underbrush, surface evidence in the form of bone, rock concentrations and localized regions of elevation and depression were flagged. In addition, areas testing positive with a metal detector, supplied by a volunteer, were also marked. (This procedure was not part of the original research design and, unfortunately, details on the type and sensitivity of the detector were not obtained.) Seventy-seven locations were flagged, including 18 bone, 32 stone, three mounds, 14 depressions and approximately 10 metal-bearing locales. Excavation was undertaken in the following marked areas: 18 bone, 17 stone, three mounds, 12 depressions and eight metal-bearing areas. In addition, eight units were randomly placed on the promontory south of the grid since this terrace edge may have been used aboriginally. Most of the 112 excavation units were 1 x 1 m in area. They were expanded if warranted by initial excavation or if the surface evidence was widespread. In total, 83 units (102.5 m^2) were excavated, exclusive of investigations pertaining to a cabin and its associated front yard area. Twenty-four of these 83 units (28.9%) yielded artifacts. Of these, two were marked by surface bone, four by surface stone concentrations, two by localized elevations, four by depressions and seven by metal detectors. No subsurface features were uncovered except for an ash concentration lying between three rocks in Unit 68 which did not contain any artifacts.

One prominent surface feature, a large mound of rock and bone, was located on the eastern edge of the ravine. Excavation of approximately 20% of it (units 71 and 74) yielded only additional quantities of subsurface bone and stone. It appears to have been a refuse deposit and may relate to cleanup activities of the plantation undertaken by the H.B.C. post employees. Presumably, these activities would involve a cursory removal of only the most obvious (i.e., the largest) pieces of garbage or rocks; in this case, animal carcasses and tent ring stones.

The 94 artifacts collected from these 83 units represent 15.1% of the total items recovered. Initially, the material was organized by provenience: that from the promontory area and that from the general plantation area. Excluding the eight lithics found in the promontory units of 54, 56 and 57, the remaining 86 artifacts from the general plantation area are distributed among the various industries as Table 14, in the appendix, shows. Half of the artifacts recovered from this area are of an architectural nature: specifically isolated concentrations of handmade nails, spikes, and a single woodscrew and as such are uninformative with regards to evidence for contact and culture change. The next largest category, household items, consists of a few fragments of liquor bottle glass and some burnt grey and cream earthenware found in association with a piece of Native pottery. It is difficult to ascertain the contemporaneity of the imported ceramics and the Native pottery; they are found in a small refuse scatter area, along with an intrusive thumbtack, just west of the Fort George enclosure (in Unit 24).

Most of the other artifacts reflect a European origin and equally a European or Native use, i.e., a clay pipe bowl, a gimlet, metal scraps, gunflints and musket balls. Employees hunting in the area or crossing between the posts could easily have left any of these items behind. However, the cut metal scraps, of both iron and copper alloy are suggestive of on-site manufacture or repair of articles. Since the occupants of the area were usually visiting Indians, the items may represent their activities. Other artifacts, of both a European and aboriginal origin, establish a Native presence more firmly. These include a metal projectile point, beads and tinkling cones, a chert scraper and a ground stone abrader and 11 pieces of lithic material, including a core fragment, a bipolar split pebble, shatter and flakes, generally made from locally obtained quartzite.

Lithic material was also found in another area of the plantation. Classed as the promontory area, units 52-59 were excavated south of the I-transit line along the edge of the third river terrace. This effort yielded evidence of stone tool manufacture in the form of quartzite flakes and shatter. However, with no other associated material recovered with these lithics, it is hard to place them chronologically, located as they are approximately 14 cm below surface at the interface between the sod and sterile yellow sand layers. Given their slightly deeper provenience relative to most of the site's historic material coupled with the prehistoric lithic deposits found by previous investigations at both posts, this material probably also dates to precontact times.

CONCLUSIONS

Extensive testing of the plantation area by random and judgmental sampling (3 % excavated of a total of 9100 m^2) yielded very little evidence for an historic Native presence in the form of features, such as hearths and tent rings, or artifacts. A thin sheet-like scatter of cultural material, with slightly larger concentrations in units 24 and 60, 61 and 100, characterized the distribution pattern. The historic Native presence thus appears to be virtually archaeologically invisible. Many of the European artifacts found could represent equally a European or a Native occupation. However, evidence for local metal and stone tool manufacturing beyond the fort palisades would argue for a Native occupation, which is further supported by the presence items of Native clothing decoration.

RESULTS - CABIN EXCAVATION

INTRODUCTION

Although my archaeological investigations to determine the material correlates for culture transfer at the site complex were unsuccessful in that they did not produce quantitative data in the form of a secure association of Native features with trade goods, they did successfully yield data on the central problem of this study from an unexpected data source. A two room burned wooden building was fully excavated (see Figure 4 for the excavation plan of the cabin). It and a related outdoor activity area contained artifacts which suggest that a occupation by Native women and men of unknown ethnicity (probably European given the lack of documentary evidence for a Native male occupation of fort structures). In the following pages I describe the architecture of the structure and the artifacts found in association. A comparison is made with the employees' residences at Fort George and their artifact assemblages in order to establish the function of this structure and to identify the effect of contact on the material culture of Native women at the forts.

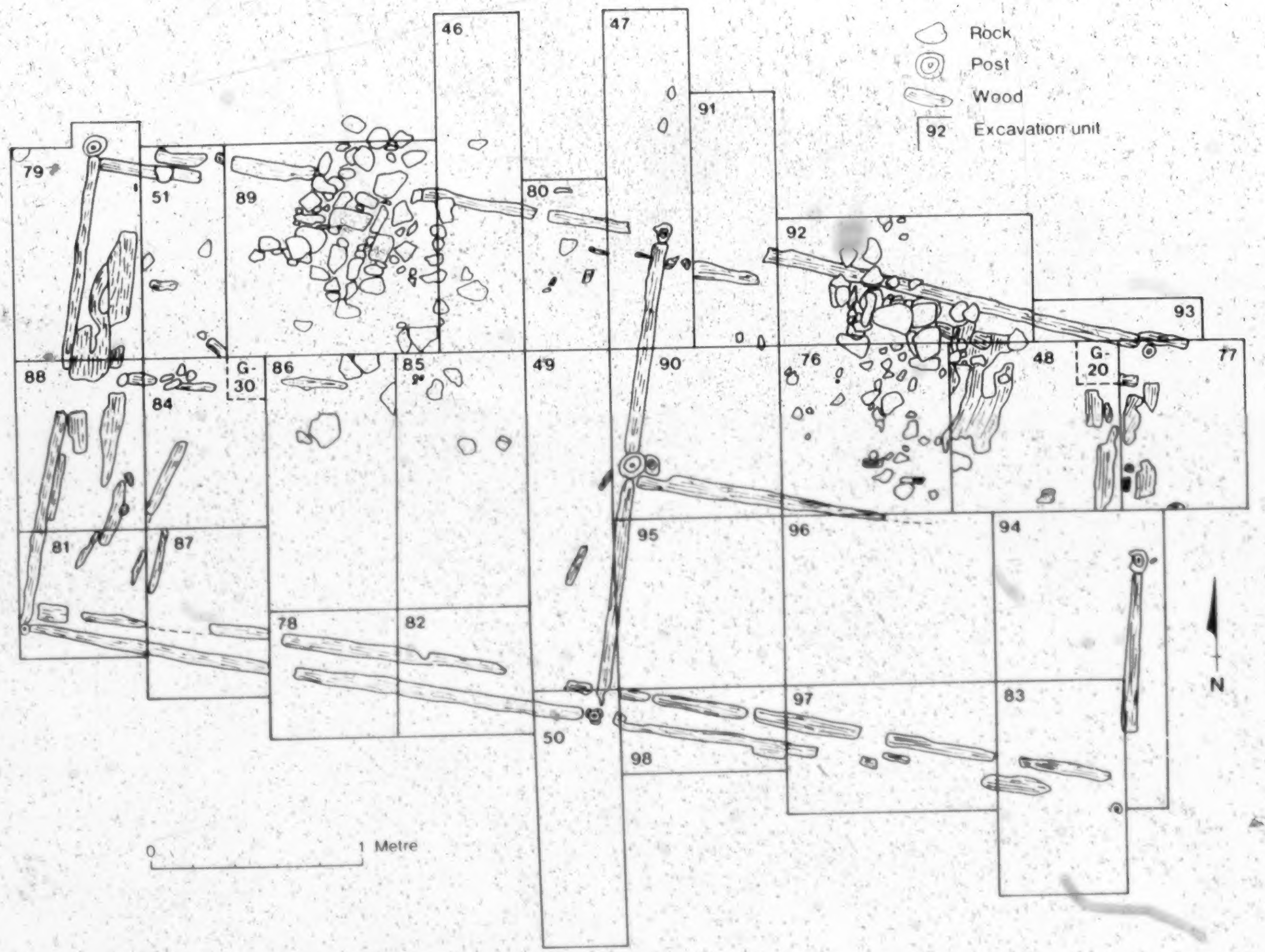

Rock
Post
Wood
92 Excavation unit
N
0
1 Metre
79
51
89
46
80
47
91
92
93
88
84
G-30
86
85
49
90
76
48
G-20
77
81
87
78
82
50
95
96
94
97
83
98

FIGURE 4. Plantation Cabin Floor Plan

CABIN ARCHITECTURE AND FRONT YARD

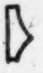
The immediate area of the cabin was characterized by surface indications of subsurface cultural deposits which became more obvious once the underbrush had been cleared away. A slight,oval mound oriented east-west, approximately 0.5 m in height and 10 m in length, was marked by a concentration of field stones at each end. A few large ungulate limb bones were visible on the ground surface and/or partly embedded in the soil. Because the feature was not characterized by the presence of deep cellar depressions adjacent to the rock concentrations (the typical surface expression of an historic building), I assumed that aboriginal stone caches or hearths were represented. However, excavation of test units G-20 and G-30 demonstrated the existence of an historic occupation, specifically the remnants of a burnt wooden structure. Portions of a burnt beam running east-west were uncovered in unit G-20. The units also yielded clay mortar fragments, burnt bone, two handmade nails and a brass wedge. The first large excavation unit (#46) was placed on the east side of the westernmost rock concentration. Trade goods and additional wooden structural elements were revealed. The rock concentrations were then recognized as fireplace remains and a cellarless two room building was completely uncovered through the excavation of 29 units (units FlOq 10:46-51; 76-98) and 24 cubic metres of matrix.

The building measures 13 m by 6 m (42 feet by 19 feet) and is oriented approximately east-west facing the river. Each room contains a U-shaped fireplace against, but not built into, the north wall. The west room is slightly larger at 6.75 by 6.0 m (21.5 feet by 19 feet). The east room measures 6.25 by 6.0 m (20.5 feet by 19 feet). The size of the vertical support posts are of similar dimensions to those found in the Fort George residences which Losey (1980:159) believed supported single storey structures.

The building was constructed with the 'post-in-ground' technique. This technique was used by both companies at the B.H.-F.G. site complex for all domestic structures and was the prevalent construction method prior to 1821 (Babcock 1977:17). It involved sinking vertical posts into the ground at the corners and at intervals along the walls. Tenoned wall logs were then secured to the grooved vertical posts with mud mortar.

Nine vertical posts were found, all with large quantities of mud mortar immediately above them. They ranged from 12 to 30 cm in diameter. Aside from the four corner posts, posts also bisected the north and south walls 6.75 m east of the west wall. These posts supported the north-south running interior wall which divided the structure into two rooms. Along the east and the interior walls, vertical posts were placed at 2.5 m and 2.75 m, respectively, south of the north wall. No comparable post feature was found along the west wall, presumably because it had been destroyed by the root action of the large tree which grew through it. The ninth post abutted the interior wall support post on the northeast side. Excavation of the latter post (which was 40 cm long) revealed that it extended 86 cm below the present ground surface and rested on a base of stones. Unfortunately, only the one post was fully excavated and it was not determined whether these stones were deliberately placed under the post as supports or whether they were part of the underlying naturally-occurring gravel bed as Losey et al. (1978:25) mentions in reference to excavations on the N.W.C. Main House. The pit features initially excavated to place these posts for construction of the building were not distinguishable from the surrounding sterile sand matrix as they occasionally were in the investigations at Fort George (Losey et al. 1978:30).

The building perimeter was marked by a single course of wall logs (sills) sunk into the sterile sand layer to a depth of 20 cm below the present ground surface. The sills met at imperfect right angles at the corner posts. Because of this, the structure was not completely rectangular. The east wall was angled slightly northwest-southeast, creating a room which was slightly longer (6 m) along its south side than its north side (5.75 m).

The wall logs had been peeled and their rounded top and bottom surfaces (where they were preserved) indicate that they were essentially undressed. Triangular chinking fragments with the following cross-section: "  " substantiate this conclusion. The wall logs were held in place by the application of mud mortar which was liberally distributed on top of these beams and beside them towards the inside of the building. This pattern implies that the inside walls may have been plastered, although only three small pieces of mortar showed evidence of whitewashing. Small fragments of mortar from the northwest and southwest corners (units 51 and 87) bore woven cloth impressions, suggesting that strips of cloth may have been wedged into the spaces between the logs and then secured with mortar. Four small pieces of mortar from the northwest and southeast corners of the building appear to have lathe impressions; however, the method of attachment is not known.

The wall logs themselves were 15 to 20 cm in diameter. The single excavated sample was 15 cm thick. Most of these sill, or basal, logs were burnt to a depth of 3 cm. The lower portions were presumably protected from fire because of submersion into the sand, although no evidence was found for the deliberate excavation of trenches in which to lay these sills. This sand layer was very loosely compacted. Settling of the building may have occurred, which could explain the paucity of evidence for trench features. No artifacts or other cultural material were recovered in testing undertaken below the sills in units 48, 87 and 90.

The interior wall sill was similar in character to the other wall members in that it was also interrupted along its length for a vertical post (at 2.5 m). As noted previously, a second smaller post which had been shaped to fit closely against the larger post lay directly northeast of the latter. This 'deadman', as it was known, may have served as a foundation for the nearby floor joist (Babcock 1977:14).

A second parallel row of logs was found along the south wall and portions of the north wall. Their surfaces were approximately 5-10 cm higher than the basal logs. These may have represented a second course of wall members which had fallen in towards the building interior or they may have been sleepers (floor joists laid down prior to applying floor planking). Mud mortar concentrations located on top of these features argue equally for their identification as fallen wall logs or sleepers subsequently covered in chinking with the collapse of the building. However, three observations suggest the latter interpretation. When wall logs collapse, the members are usually scattered in a non-parallel fashion. These wood features were oriented parallel to the sills. Most were unburnt, making it more likely that they represented floor support beams which were protected from fire either by overlying planks which burnt or by surrounding soil[3] rather than a second course of wall logs differentially preserved from a base of burnt logs. Artifacts found above these features and their absence below support this interpretation.

Other evidence of sleepers included a 3.0 - 3.5 m long beam which lay in an east-west orientation, abutting the interior wall support posts. This charred beam had been deeply notched at its base for a distance of 35 cm. Heavy concentrations of mud mortar lay around the notched end, and around the posts. The notching could represent the point at and method by which the joist was attached to the foundation post.

On the west side of the building and south of the east fireplace, wood remains oriented north-south suggest the presence of floor planking. Near the east fireplace these fragments lay directly on top of an east-west beam which could be a sleeper. Aside from these pieces, very little evidence for floor planking existed. Yet it is unlikely that the floor was made of packed dirt as in the workshop complex excavated in 1977 at Fort George. The sterile sand layer exposed was far too loose to have functioned as a floor. While, occasionally, artifacts were found in this layer, most represented items which had probably dropped through the wooden floor which burned away. The lithic flakes found in this layer were an exception which will be discussed later.

The two fireplaces lying against the north wall were identical to each other and to those excavated at Fort George. Constructed of unmortared, undressed fieldstone, they measured 1.4 m across. They consist of a single row of stones three courses high on the sides and a double row of stones the same height along the back. The firepan, an area of hardened clay, covered the floor of the fireplace. The fireplace was filled with a hardened matrix of soil and small fragments of calcined bones containing sixteen artifacts, most of which were handmade nails. Concentrations of mud mortar lay above the fireplace stones. The amount and distribution suggest that the mortar represents the remains of mud-wattle-and-wood-framed chimneys rather than log wall chinking.

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[3] The difference in elevation between these sleepers and the sill logs suggests that the ground level inside the house may have been raised relative to the exterior ground level (and the logs partially covered in soil) to prevent surface runoff from entering the building interior.

An associated area of activity is the heavily littered ground immediately south of the building. Excavation of 14 units in this 'front yard' revealed the presence of large concentrations of historic artifacts and faunal material. Based on preliminary inspection, the faunal element and distribution patterns suggest butchering and bone marrow and bone grease extraction activities predominated, although detailed analysis was not carried out. Another unit (#36), located south of the cabin just west of the front yard excavations, contained a unique feature. Several bison limb bones, elk and beaver elements and a coyote maxilla were vertically oriented in a pit feature. No artifacts were associated with this feature which was probably a food storage pit and may or may not have been associated with the occupation of the building. Excavations conducted along the sides of, and behind the building yielded no additional evidence of cultural activities or defensive features such as palisades.

REVIEW OF THE STRUCTURAL EVIDENCE FROM PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE B.H.-F.G. SITE COMPLEX

In order to identify the function of the two room building uncovered during the 1988 excavation season, comparisons were made to the structural evidence recovered in previous investigations at the B.H.-F.G. site complex. Buildings of an industrial, storage or domestic nature were examined for similarities in terms of their construction techniques and their structural form.

Certain functional interpretations of the building can be readily discarded upon even the most superficial comparison with buildings of known use. Neither architectural nor artifactual evidence exists to suggest that the building in question was used for an industrial purpose such as blacksmithing, wood-working, tailoring or coopering. Such work areas were typically characterized by the presence of specialized tools or waste material (such as slag in the case of blacksmithing). Often the floors would be of hard-packed earth rather than wooden planking. Fireplaces would be absent as would cellars.

Another possible use for the building is for storage of provisions and trade goods. Storehouses were often semi-subterranean with cribbed walls. They usually contained cellars and lacked fireplaces. Access was restricted by the use of door locks and by the protective presence of a surrounding stockade.

A contrary pattern exists for the building in question. With its fireplaces and wooden flooring, it was not a storage area, but obviously a domestic or commercial structure of some type. It could have been either an independent trading establishment or an employees' residence. As a trading post, one room could have functioned as the trading hall and the other as the living quarters. However, the lack of certain features serves to exclude this purpose from the list of possibilities. No structural defense in the form of palisade enclosures, which one would expect for a post (see below), were revealed in excavations of the land peripheral to the building. The building did not contain any evidence of subfloor storage. In addition, the building was much smaller than most factor's houses belonging to the N.W.C. or the H.B.C. of this period. The latter were usually in excess of sixty feet in length and many were two stories in height (Losey et al. 1978:29). However, a small business could have been contained in a smaller structure. Unfortunately, few independent posts have been archaeologically investigated; consequently, there is little information regarding their construction techniques, dimensions, and floor plans. One exception is Kehoe's (1976) excavation of Francois' House (FhNa - 3, 19) in east-central Saskatchewan, but even this small trading post had evidence for four buildings complete with cellars and a second storey storage area in one and a palisade formed by the walls of the buildings. Another source which substantiates the multi-structure, fortified nature of the smaller enterprises is H.B.C. clerk John Thomas' 1774 account of Fort Abitibi, a Canadian trading post: "their House . . . is Logs of Cedar . . . their Warehouse a Seperate (sic) Building from their Dwelling House . . . they are Building a New House, round these Houses they have one Row of stockades" (Mitchell 1977:22). The remaining alternative is that the building represents a residence contemporaneous with the occupation of the posts. Its location, nearby but outside the stockade enclosure of Fort George, suggests its identity as a 'satellite' structure associated with the N.W.C. enterprise. Architecturally it is very similar to the west and east rowhouses built for the N.W.C.

employees at Fort George (Losey and Pyszczyk 1979:35-38, 194-195; Losey 1980:77-78,156-160).

The development of suburban communities around fur trade posts was not uncommon by the mid-eighteenth century.

> Where there was no danger from Indians the lower grade of employees were sometimes permitted to live outside the fort confines. [At Fort Vancouver] all of the 'servants' . . . resided in houses of varying sizes and descriptions in or near the 'village', a cluster of dwellings on the plain south and west of the palisaded enclosures (Hussey 1975:14)

Men and women of all ethnic groups "lived in the settlement here [Fort Michilimackinac, 1715-1781], both within the palisades and outside in a village known as the 'subarbs' (sic) " (Scott 1990:1). Descriptions of similar buildings at other forts focus on their small size, lack of furniture, and number of inhabitants (Hussey 1975). Philip Turnor, describing the situation at an inland Canadian trading post in 1799 mentions "3 trading Houses within 200 yards . . . likewise about 10 small Houses inhabitet (sic) by their men, which in fact are trading Houses every one of their men being a trader" (Brown 1980:82). These structures could be seasonally occupied. Thomas writes of employees leaving the post "to live in a Log Tent about 50 Yards below the Factory [at Fort Abitibi]" (Mitchell 1977:22). And in George Gladman's description of Fort Timiskaming, "commodious dwelling Houses" for the master and another man were built "10 or 12 Yards higher up on the Point", while the dwelling Houses for the Winter, (this situation being too bleak and open), [were located] about half a mile behind the Point . . ." (Mitchell 1977:45 - 46).

The Fort George row houses were oriented north-south and built of spruce. They contained four rooms each approximately 16 by 21 feet in size with a stone U-shaped fireplace and a cellar (Losey and Pyszczyk 1979:35; Losey 1980:78). These men's quarters, as with domestic structures at both forts, were constructed using the post-in-ground technique. The posts, which ranged from 15-30 cm in diameter, were set into the building corners and at fixed intervals along the walls (Losey and Pyszczyk 1979:35-36). In the West Living Quarters they were placed every 21 feet along the west and east walls; in the East Men's House they were found at

10 to 11 foot intervals along the east wall and eight foot intervals along the south walls (Losey and Pyszczyk 1979:35; Losey 1980:157).

Little evidence exists from which to determine wall preparation techniques. On the east and west sides of the West Men's House, trenches for the basal wall logs were visible (Losey et al. 1978:39). Logs were peeled and either left round or dressed along the sides, to facilitate plastering. They were 15-23 cm wide (Losey et al. 1978:39; Losey and Pyszczyk 1979:36). Mud plaster concentrations at the corners suggest that the wall logs were attached to the upright posts with mortar by a tenon and mortice technique.

Chinking or mud clay mortar was normally used for filling the spaces between the wall logs, for plastering interior or exterior surfaces, for securing hearthstones, and for constructing chimneys. Little of this material was found for either of these buildings although it had a liberal distribution at the Main House which was partially lathed and plastered inside and outside. This distribution pattern may be suggestive of differential construction and finishing techniques related to status (Losey and Pyszczyk 1979:77).

Evidence for the superstructure was minimal. The investigators concluded that the rowhouses were probably single storey structures because of the small size of the support posts and long span between the central supports relative to those of the double-storied Main House (Losey 1980:159).

Information on the doors or windows was not available nor was associated hardware such as locks or hinges discussed in terms of their architectural significance (Losey and Pyszczyk 1979:195). In addition, no attempt was made to relate nail type to structural features.

Interior walls were inferred by the positions of vertical support posts set at intervals along the long walls (Losey and Pyszczyk 1979:35; Losey 1980:78). None of the wall timbers themselves nor evidence for their method of attachment to the posts existed (Losey 1980:157).

Except for the Main House, evidence for plank flooring is negligible. In neither rowhouse was floor planking preserved (Losey and Pyszczyk 1979:36; Losey 1980:78). Instead its presence was inferred from traces of sleepers (horizontal floor supports) found parallel to the wall sills (Losey 1980:158). The sleepers were best preserved on the east side of the East Men's House. Concentrations of mortar from chimney fall apparently protected them. Sleepers were distinguished from a second course of wall timbers on the basis of their orientation, size, shape and length.

The fireplaces varied from 1.25-1.55 m in dimension (Losey and Pyszczyk 1979:37). They were constructed of undressed fieldstones, one row wide on the sides and two rows deep in the back (Losey and Pyszczyk 1979:37; Losey 1980:156). Most were only one or two courses in height. Overlying concentrations of mortar suggest that the chimneys were made of wood frames covered in mud wattle (Losey 1980:159). The fireplaces were set inside of the building walls. The doubled back thickness prevented heat from the fires igniting the walls.

Cellars were located in the centres of the rooms. Dimensions were difficult to determine due to removal of the cribbing support, subsequent slumping of the walls and rapid intentional refilling (Losey and Pyszczyk 1979:38; Losey 1980:156).

Generally, architectural preservation of these buildings was inferior to that of the building discovered outside of the palisade. The fact that the former structures were dismantled prior to abandonment, unlike the Plantation building which burned in place, undoubtedly explains this difference. Proof of the dismantlement comes in the form of the cellar fill as well as the presence of unburned or missing beams, empty post pits, lack of floor planking and the lack of all but the basal courses of the fireplace stones (Losey 1980:160). Nevertheless, the structural similarities to the Plantation building are evident, and the latter is identified here as a residence associated with the N.W.C. concern.

CABIN ARTIFACT ASSEMBLAGE

The majority of the artifacts collected from the plantation site during the 1988 excavations (84.9 % before cross-mending) come from the cabin and the front yard. The cabin assemblage, which itself comprises slightly more than half of the total site assemblage, contains items from all of the functional classes identified at this site (see Table 14 in Appendix).

Surprisingly, the largest artifact class from the cabin is architectural items, primarily handwrought nails. This high percentage of nails (40.3 %) is atypical of the Early Fur Trade Artifact Pattern (Forsman 1983). The reasons for their weak presence in assemblages characterized by this pattern are two fold: (1) the structures were generally erected with techniques which included a minimum use of pegs or nails (Babcock 1977:8); and (2) buildings (such as the Fort George rowhouses) were often dismantled prior to abandonment; reusable items such as nails, for flooring perhaps, were certainly recycled. The plantation building, on the other hand, appears to have been burnt rather than dismantled; the nails may represent the remnants of furniture or flooring left in situ.

Smoking equipment, in the form of clay and stone pipe fragments, is relatively well-represented in the cabin assemblage relative to the plantation generally and indeed, is the second most common artifact class of the cabin. Pipes are followed in terms of abundance by items relating to clothing and ornamentation, including 15 buttons and quantities of jewellery: a ring, brooches, earrings, two stone pendants which may be portions of a single item, a few beads, ochre and a tinkling cone. Household items are the next most frequently encountered articles. These include metal container fragments, knives, some liquor and pharmaceutical bottle glass, a single small grey and cream gallipot, which may be a pomade jar, transfer-print earthenware fragments and an unidentified ground stone handle, possibly from a pot. Hunting and trapping items found within the cabin include several gunflints, a single musket ball, a metal projectile point and a possible wire snare fragment . Personal items recovered include a straight razor and mirror fragments. All but one of the bone- or wood-working tools recovered from the site are associated with the cabin. These include rasp and file fragments as well as several pieces of heavy brass rod (probably from kettle handles) with ends which had been flattened into chisel- or wedge-like tips. Skin clothing construction was also undertaken in the building as the presence of awls and a flesher demonstrate. On-site artifact manufacture or repair is suggested by the presence to two bone flakes exhibiting chop and polish marks believed to be from the historic occupation. (A lithic biface thinning flake from an unknown context within the cabin and a piece of lithic shatter from outside the south wall of the cabin are not considered in this discussion as they may relate to a possible prehistoric lithic component found in the front yard area (see p. 110)). The majority of the unidentified items were found within the cabin. They include ferrous bars, ferrous scraps, and melted grey metal fragments from musket ball manufacture.

The artifacts are organized in terms of ethnicity, gender and utilitarian/luxury associations in order to identify the effect of direct contact with European culture on Native female material culture and associated activities (Tables 11-13). Variations of this organizational format have been used by other researchers (Hamilton 1986; Kehoe 1976; Morantz 1980; Trigger 1977; Wheaton et al. 1983) to elucidate material correlates for gender -, class -, or ethnic - specific traits. In the following tables, structural articles such as nails, spikes and screws and upholstery tacks, as well as unidentified fragments, have been excluded.

The first assumption underlying the construction of these tables is that "a sexual division of labour existed on the basis of ethnographic and historic analogy" and that the gender-linked activities generated should be recognizable in the material record (Hamilton 1986:2). Fur trade accounts are fairly explicit regarding tasks performed exclusively by the country wives. They include hide processing, snowshoe netting (men made the snowshoe frames), clothing and footwear production and decoration, small game snaring, culinary services, wood and water collection, as well as erecting tents (Brown 1980:73,82; Glover 1962:255; Hamilton 1986: 22; Lamb 1970: 135;Van Kirk 1980a:18, 54-58). Both men and women participated in some activities: fishing and fishnet weaving, pemmican making and goose hunting (at the bayside posts) (Brown 1980:82; Van Kirk 1980a:56).

The second assumption is that certain broad classes of artifacts can indicate ethnic origin of production. European articles are made of ceramic, glass and metal. Many of the non-essential items such as shell jewellery and pigments can be assigned to Indian occupants fairly readily. However, some of the other bone and lithic artifacts, while springing from an aboriginal tradition, could have been made by either gender or ethnic group. For example, the ethnic identification of ground stone pipes fashioned with metal tools is less straightforward.

Most scholars assume that stone pipes represent local production (and use) by European employees of an item that was manufactured in great numbers elsewhere (Nicks 1970:44n). There have also been suggestions that these pipes were produced locally by the Europeans to trade to the Natives, but references to this response to consumer demand do not occur before 1831 in accounts of Europeans quarrying pipestone for the Indians (Murray 1962:88). A third alternative is that these items were the products of endeavours by local contemporaneous Indian populations. Since we lack documentary substantiation, this artifact type cannot be included in any discussion of culture transfer. However, some interesting information comes to light regarding pipe form and ethnicity. The stone pipe preform recovered from the Plantation site is of the plain bore tube type - the simplest and oldest pipe form, in use until the end of the 19th century (King 1977:9). The distinctive, rather awkward, form of the tube pipe which is tentatively associated with ceremonial activities, together with its antiquity suggest that this stone pipe preform may have been Native-made. If this is true, then the manufacture of these traditional pipes with metal tools is indicative of a selective approach on behalf of the Indians to European technology.

One other artifact class presents problems in assigning ethnic origin of production: bone tools and the related tool-making debris. References to shipping iron goods such as offset awl blades without their handles, which were supplied later by the Indians themselves suggests that bone or antler handles represent Native manufacture and use (Russell 1967:318). The fact that the only complete tools found were Native women's tools could be seen to support this ethnic association. Bone debris could, therefore, be tentatively assigned to the production of women's tools.

However, women did not necessarily manufacture their own tools. Studies by Osgood (1970) among the Ingalik and Steinbring (1966) with the Ojibwa suggest that during the ethnographic period Indian men often made the awls and fleshers. In the case of a Native female-European male occupation, three alternatives for the production of women's tools are possible. (1) European men made aboriginal women's tools for their Native wives. (2) The Indian women obtained these items from their kinsmen. (3) The Native wives themselves were the manufacturers. While this issue cannot be definitively resolved here, given the European men's lack of familiarity with such 'country skills' and the retention of traditional activities on the part of the Indian wives, I think it more plausible that individuals who were familiar with the bone tool technology and who used the tools, the Native wives or their kinsmen, would be the ones most likely to manufacture them. The characteristics of the metapodial flesher found on the plantation is in keeping with traditional choices regarding species, element, and age of the animal (Steinbring 1966:579). According to Matwychuk (1980:15), the species utilized is also an ethnic/ecological marker of sorts; Woodland groups traditionally made fleshers from moose metapodials, while Plains groups used bison, deer or elk elements.

A corollary of this assumption is that while some artifacts indicate ethnic origin of production, the relation of ethnicity of the *user* to ethnicity of the artifact is more complex. However, by considering gender-based behaviour, a dichotomy of material culture based on ethnicity and gender, which reflects the systemic context, is possible.

The third principle under which the data were classified relates to the general function of the items in terms of their utilitarian value versus their luxury value. This classification has been undertaken because it is obvious in the primary references that both trading parties distinguished the trade goods in this manner. Debate continues on whether the aboriginals were first attracted to the luxury spectrum of European material culture or to the labour-saving iron and copper tools (Trigger 1977:9 versus Ray 1988:338). This distinction has obvious implications for any statements pertaining to culture change arising from contact. However, the classification suffers in its inherent subjectivity. For example, it is well-known that pipes and tobacco played a strong role in several ritual contexts prehistorically and ethnographically (Ewers 1979; King 1977; Paper 1988). Such items may more appropriately be placed with other essential items. On the other hand, much of this behaviour was introduced by the fur trade itself to Indians from the north and northwest areas of the continent who learned smoking primarily as a social activity in the context of the trade (King 1977:1; Paper 1988:7). My reading of the historic accounts for the local trade is of smoking as an essentially individual recreational pastime in which supplies were often provided gratis by the Europeans at every opportunity while to a lesser degree it represented a featured aspect of negotiations and peace-making activities.

Historical sources indicate that prior to the nineteenth century European women were not present in the fur trade (Van Kirk 1980b:165). A Native female presence, on the other hand, can be easily established from the primary references relating to Fort George and Buckingham House. As country wives of the employees, the strongest archaeological evidence for their identity should be in the men's residences. And, in fact, by the 1750s Native women were allowed to reside in the men's quarters at York Factory and subsequent references to "wives and Numerous family both in & about" the posts abound (Van Kirk 1980a:41,43). At Fort George we see that items identified as of Native industry as well as clothing and ornaments were more commonly recovered from to the employees' quarters than from the Main House (Kidd 1970).

The mere presence of Native women's tools should validate the occupation of the structure by Native women. However, the effect of European culture contact on the material culture of these Indian wives will be *defined* by the association of Native artifacts with those domestic European artifacts which reflect a female use. It is this association that will yield information on culture contact.

Historic occupation of the plantation building by Indian women (Table 11) is strongly suggested by the association of Native clothing construction tools with quantities of trade jewellery (Glover 1962:255). However, according to some sources, Indian men frequently wore jewellery as well (Conacher 1951:44-45; Webster 1933:168), although, they did not reside in fort dwellings. Other items which suggest a Native origin but which are not gender-specific are bone and lithic manufacturing by-products, and ochre fragments, although in each case the evidence is minimal.

Household items, characteristic of female domestic chores such as kettle fragments, ceramics and a metal awl are assigned a Native female designation. A similar designation was given to a wire fragment similar to specimens tentatively identified as snare wire, mainly used by

TABLE 11. Cabin Artifact Assemblage Organized by Gender, Ethnicity and Utility/Luxury

FEMALE

NATIVE ORIGIN		EUROPEAN ORIGIN	
UTILITARIAN	LUXURY	UTILITARIAN	LUXURY
bone flesher		snare(?) wire	brooches
bone awl		metal awl	earrings
		kettle	pendants
		ceramics	tinkling cones
			beads

MALE

NATIVE ORIGIN		EUROPEAN ORIGIN	
UTILITARIAN	LUXURY	UTILITARIAN	LUXURY
		gunflints	
		musket ball	
		razor	

EITHER

NATIVE ORIGIN		EUROPEAN ORIGIN	
UTILITARIAN	LUXURY	UTILITARIAN	LUXURY
bone tool production	ochre	knives	liquor glass
	stone pipes	gallipot	plain ring
	stone pipe preform	container handles	mirror glass
		metal container rims	clay pipes
		key	
		rasp	
		files	
		wedges	
		barrel hoops	
		pharmaceutical glass	
		buttons *	buttons *

*Buttons served both utilitarian and decorative functions, hence their inclusion under both categories.

Native women (but also by children and old men) to catch small game. Certainly, male occupants would have used cooking items as well, but under the premise of a sexual division of labour and the pre-established presence of a Native female occupant in the form of traditional, aboriginal tools, such articles can most probably be associated with Native women.

Few artifacts could be definitely assigned to a male category within the context of the cabin. These included a razor fragment and items of a hunting nature including gunflints and musket balls.

Many European items were probably used by both sexes. These include utilitarian items such as knives, small metal and ceramic containers and container handles, a key, woodworking implements, barrel strapping, medicine bottles, and buttons (although the latter also served decorative functions and have also been included under the category of European-made luxuries). Other European-made articles of a non-essential nature that are not gender specific include liquor bottles, a large plain ring, mirror glass and clay pipes.

FRONT YARD ARTIFACT ASSEMBLAGE

The second largest artifact concentration (34.1% of the total assemblage before cross-mending) comes from the front yard of the cabin. Except for bone tool production debris, all other artifact classes are present. In this area, the most common class recovered was lithic manufacturing debris encountered underneath the historic horizon and above the sterile yellow sand beneath. The latter appears to be an area of natural 'leaching' (a B horizon) rather than a culture-bearing paleosol. Most of the lithic material was found 16+ cm below surface, while the historic items and the bone were encountered at 0-12 cm depth. I believe these lithics represent a prehistoric occupation (although the absence of a paleosol is disconcerting) and for this reason, these items have not been included in discussions of historic culture transfer.

The second largest artifact class is architecture items, specifically nails. As no other structural features were exposed in the immediate area, the nails presumably relate to the cabin. Household items comprised of ceramic earthenware fragments and a kettle lug follow in frequency. Clothing and ornamentation items are represented by a single bone button back, a sheet metal pendant, a silver cross, a tinkling cone, beads and a silver armband fragment. Hunting items include the same range as that recovered from the cabin: gunflints and musket balls, as well as a metal projectile point. Recreation items consist of six clay pipe fragments. Three flat glass fragments may be mirror glass, the sole item of a personal nature found in the area. A bone tool for hide scraping was recovered. Seven pieces of a flat, pointed ground stone object may represent an abrader. Miscellaneous items include melted glass fragments, ferrous metal bars, and one piece each of cut copper and cut ferrous sheet metal.

Table 12 illustrates the distribution of these items by gender, ethnicity and utilitarian/luxury classification. A Native female presence is suggested by the bone scraper and by the trade jewellery recovered, although wives may have used items such as beads to decorate moccasins worn by European husbands. The presence of a kettle lug and imported ceramics are associated with women's tasks. The ground stone object, probably an abrader, could have been used by either group.

Artifacts that could have been used by men of either ethnic group include gunflints and musket balls. The ownership of a metal projectile point is less clear cut. No reference to European use of bows and arrows has been found.

Four European artifact types were indistinguishable in terms of gender and ethnic use. These are generally of a non-essential character; i.e., flat (mirror?) glass, clay pipes, armband fragments and bone button blanks, although the latter may have been conceived of as purely utilitarian objects as well.

REVIEW OF THE ARTIFACTUAL EVIDENCE FROM PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT FORT GEORGE

Architecturally, great similarities exist between the employees' residences at Fort George and the building found on the plantation site. In terms of material culture, there is also a distinct resemblance. Good opportunities exist for reconstructing gender-related behaviour from these archaeological assemblages. Nevertheless, it is important to consider that the archaeological

TABLE 12. Front Yard Assemblage Organized By Gender, Ethnicity And Utility/Luxury

FEMALE

NATIVE ORIGIN		EUROPEAN ORIGIN	
UTILITARIAN	LUXURY	UTILITARIAN	LUXURY
bone scraper		kettle lug ceramics	pendant cross tinkling cones beads

MALE

NATIVE ORIGIN		EUROPEAN ORIGIN	
UTILITARIAN	LUXURY	UTILITARIAN	LUXURY
		projectile point gunflints musket ball	

EITHER

NATIVE ORIGIN		EUROPEAN ORIGIN	
UTILITARIAN	LUXURY	UTILITARIAN	LUXURY
abrader(?)		bone button back	armbands mirror glass clay pipes

pattern, particularly for the N.W.C. men's residences, may reflect behaviour other than the habitation in question - refuse disposal and subsequent reoccupation by other groups, for example. The men's quarters were torn down prior to abandonment. Cellar fill may not relate to building function and the majority of the items discarded during occupation of the rowhouses may have been periodically removed. Given these limitations, a coarse-grained analysis of gender and culture contact is the best that can be attempted.

In the following pages, I have organized the artifactual data from the Fort George Men's House, West Living Quarters and East Men's House into a table according to gender, ethnicity and utility/luxury (see Table 13). This distribution will be compared to that obtained for the artifacts from the plantation structure and, in the following section, summary statements concerning the nature of culture contact and the subsequent changes to Native female material culture will be presented. Although the previous investigators did not elaborate on the significance of their observations for issues of intercultural interaction, they did observe differences in the West Living Quarters in the artifact distribution according to room (Losey and Pyszczyk 1979:128). Fewer ornaments were recovered from room 4 and more bone artifacts were recovered from room 1. Based on the foregoing data and my arguments, it follows that Native female presence is more apparent in room 1 than in room 4.

One other feature at Fort George exhibits artifactual evidence of an historic Native female presence. This is the area initially defined as the shop complex in 1977 and subsequently identified as originally part of the West Living Quarters, later used as a work area after that building had been torn down (Losey and Pyszczyk 1979:129). It included several aboriginal artifacts such as a thumbnail scraper, a hammerstone, flakes, an antler handle, a bone awl, a needle case, cowrie shell and snowshoe needles (of which Losey et al. (1978:72) recognize only the first two items). Evidence for a female presence was also indicated by the jewellery, ceramics and metal awl fragments recovered. Several of these items had not been identified in Kidd's excavations of the Main House, suggesting a differential occupation of the site according to gender and ethnicity. However, because the association of the artifacts to the features and structures is not clear, these

TABLE 13. Summary Of Artifacts From The Fort George Employees' Residences Organized By Gender, Ethnicity And Utility/Luxury

FEMALE

NATIVE ORIGIN		EUROPEAN ORIGIN	
UTILITARIAN	LUXURY	UTILITARIAN	LUXURY
needle case(?)		snare(?) wire	rings
bone awls		metal awls	brooches
bone flesher		thimbles	earrings
scraper		needles	pendants
snowshoe needles		kettles	cross
birchbark container		kettle lugs	beads
		ceramics	tinkling cones
		tumbler	hawk bells
			copper chain

MALE

NATIVE ORIGIN		EUROPEAN ORIGIN	
UTILITARIAN	LUXURY	UTILITARIAN	LUXURY
bone harpoon heads		projectile point	
		gunparts	
		lead ball	
		lead shot	
		gunflints	
		lead spill	
		razor blades	
		bridle fragment	
		cufflink	

EITHER

NATIVE ORIGIN		EUROPEAN ORIGIN	
UTILITARIAN	LUXURY	UTILITARIAN	LUXURY
antler handles	dentalium	knives	tobacco box
worked antler	cowrie shells	files	liquor glass
worked bone	vermillion	chisel	arm band
heart-shaped bone item	bone gaming piece	punches	silver fragments
hammerstone	stone pipes	drill bits	clay pipes
lithics - flakes, cores		adze blades	marble
cobble chopper		saw blades	ceramic gaming piece
abrader		gimlets	mirror glass
birch bark		containers	plain ring
comb		wire	shoe buckle
		comb	
		slate	
		sealing wax	
		strike-a-lights	
		baling seals	
		barrel hoops	
		buckle	
		metal strap	
		key	
		spigot	
		hook	
		vial	
		pharmaceutical glass	
		Turlington bottle	
		bottle stopper	
		footwear	
		twine	
		glove	
		fishline/netweight	
		buttons*	buttons*

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*Buttons served both utilitarian and decorative functions, hence their inclusion under both categories.

data were not used in a general comparison between the men's residences within Fort George and outside of the post. In any case, all of these artifact types are found in the employees' quarters where the contextual association is more reliable.

Several types of items, of both an aboriginal and a European source, signal the historic presence of Native women at the N.W.C. post. These include practical items of a Native origin dominated by sewing equipment for hide preparation, skin clothing manufacture, and snowshoe netting and repair as well as a birchbark vessel manufactured by a Native woman but used by either gender or ethnic group. Concomitant are imported equivalents including metal awls, needles, thimbles and other European items such as ceramic vessels, kettles, and drinking glasses along with fine gauge wire possibly from snares set to catch small game. Luxury items relating to women are dominated by European articles which are, without exception, of an ornamental nature: rings, earrings, brooches, pendants including crosses and perforated thimbles, beads, tinkling cones, hawk bells and a copper chain.

Very few articles reflect an unequivocal male presence. Generally these are hunting items. Aboriginally this includes a single type of artifact - bone harpoon heads. European goods used mainly by males include guns and ammunition and metal projectile points. A cufflink, a bridle and razors are also indicative of essentially male clothing or occupation. As employees of the post, most of their activities would be undertaken in non-residential areas of the enclosure, hence their underrepresentation within the domestic quarters.

Many articles cannot be securely assigned to either gender, and were probably used by both men and women. Practical items of bone and stone are included in this category. While traditional bone and lithic tool manufacture is indicated, some of the stone tools may come from a prehistoric context. Unfortunately this cannot be determined from Losey's site reports. Antler tool handles, a comb handle made from a metapodial, hammerstones, cobble choppers, an abrader as well as worked antler, bone and stone suggest Native production.

Several European-made utilitarian objects also fall into this unidentified category. These include bone- or wood-working tools, knives, metal containers (which could hold snuff, tobacco, or tinder), strike-a-lights, barrel hoops, combs, slate, sealing wax and baling seals, hooks, patent medicine bottles, wire and a fishline- or net-weight. Several of these items relate to clothing such as leather footwear fragments, cotton twine, a woolen glove, grommets, buckles and buttons, although the last item may be more decorative than practical. Contemporary European men's clothing was characterized by the abundant use of buttons as fasteners and as decoration (Horsfall 1983; Syms and Smith 1984).

I could not distinguish several recreational and/or decorative items by gender. These included vermillion, decorative shell and ground stone pipes and European items such as a marble, clay pipes, tobacco box lids, liquor bottles, mirrors, shoe buckles and jewellery such as armbands, plain rings and unidentified silver fragments. The locally-made gaming pieces may have been made and used by either ethnic group.

A strong conformity exists between the artifact assemblage of the plantation building and those of the Fort George residences. All of the items found in the plantation structure have been found in the employees' domiciles except for the ground soapstone handle. This continuity provides further support for the identification of this building as a contemporaneous residence and allows material culture from these contexts to be considered together in the following discussion of the archaeological evidence for culture change through contact.

CONCLUSIONS REGARDING NATIVE-EUROPEAN CONTACT AND NATIVE FEMALE MATERIAL CULTURE CHANGE

In terms of both architecture and material culture, the plantation structure bears great resemblance to the men's quarters previously investigated at Fort George. Consequently, the plantation building is identified as an employees' residence characterized by a dichotomization of occupation in terms of gender and ethnicity. While the assemblage collected in 1988 is not in itself a completely convincing argument for culture transfer, when augmented with data from the Fort George rowhouses, behavioural patterns are apparent.

Evidence for a Native female presence both within the Fort George residences and in the cabin is strong. In fact, the employees' dwellings contain more information relating to an occupation by Indian women than by European males, presumably because most of the men's tasks would have been undertaken in other areas of the site: the workshop, yard, garden, store, etc. The artifacts which relate to women's tasks reflect a situation of culture transfer on a variety of different levels during this early period of contact history. The cultural processes of retention, incorporation and replacement are all apparent in the assemblages available from the site complex.

Several traditional activities were maintained by the country wives such as hide processing, clothing construction and ornamentation and possibly small game procurement. In many instances, traditional bone tools were retained for the tasks. Occasionally, sewing tools such as bone awls, were replaced by European facsimiles, which were produced expressly for the Native market; however, the traditional technology was preserved. Of significance is the fact that two of the aboriginal bone implements were made with metal tools which demonstrates a selective use of European technology on the part of Native women if we can assume that they, rather than their European husbands or Native kinsmen, were the producers as well as the users of these items. Bone sewing tools may have been considered to be more effective or cheaper to acquire.

Artifactual evidence for the production and use of European clothing is equivocal. The rare needle recovered from the post deposits, or mentioned in the accounts (see Table 10) could relate to the ornamentation of traditional clothing with trade beads or to clothing production using imported fabrics. Whether such garments were Native or European in style cannot be determined. Clothing hardware such as buttons, grommets and buckles as well as textile remains could also represent a transition to European style clothing. However, this interpretation does not concur with the data on clothing construction tools which suggest a retention of traditional-style clothing, perhaps supplemented by European apparel. Rather, the association of clothing hardware and bone tools supports Woodward's (1965:26) observation that items such as buttons were used as ornaments rather than as fasteners by the Indians.

The quantities of non-essential goods would seem to indicate that the Indian woman saw the fur trade as a source of decorative items perhaps more so than as a source of utilitarian goods. The widely-held view of Native dependence on European implements is not apparent during this period of initial contact, for these decorative items had little impact on actual lifestyle, although they may have been socially important. Trade jewellery is the most commonly found female artifact. (According to Van Kirk (1980a:39), private orders from the employees for such items for their wives often put them in debt to the companies). Metal ornaments and glass beads seem to replace traditional decorations, although small amounts of decorative shell (found only at Fort George) and ochre are also present. Shells were sometimes traded by the Europeans to the Natives (Lohse 1988:397; Nicks 1970:38).

A trend towards replacement of traditional material traits by foreign ones and consequent culture change seems indicated. However, a more careful examination shows that it was actually a case of European equivalents being exchanged for traditional items. For example, most of the trade jewellery had similar or precise aboriginal analogues (e.g., tinkling cones replaced deer hooves and elk teeth pendants; beads replaced quillwork and hair embroidery) (Lohse 1988:397).

While jewellery can be associated with Native women more than with European husbands, many utilitarian items (e.g., knives, tools and containers) could be less positively associated with one sex or the other. If these items were used by the female inhabitants, a more complex picture of balanced acquisition of items of both luxury and utility develops.

The artifact class which exhibits the most significant European influence at both the plantation structure and Fort George is household items for containing and cooking food. The small but significant presence of kettles, ceramics, and glass and the near absence of Native pottery and basketry suggests a replacement of traditional containers and cooking vessels in favour of more durable and portable foreign materials, as well as an associated change in food production from traditional methods involving stone boiling pits. However, given the finds of Native pottery fragments and the birchbark container found in the East Living Quarters (Losey

1980:A44) together with the small quantities of ceramics and kettles actually recovered, some continuity in traditional production of containers (which simply may not have been preserved) must have occurred, especially in the early years when few ceramic and glass goods were transported inland. (The other birchbark by-products are too fragmentary to ascribe to function and can be less easily associated with either ethnic or gender class).

Another explanation for the paucity of kettles may be that they were recycled into other articles. This is substantiated by the find of small pieces of cut copper as well as the three kettle handles which have been flattened to produce wedges or chisels for bone- or wood-working at the plantation site. The few glass fragments came mainly from liquor and medicine bottles, indicating incorporation of another sort of European cultural element into the Native lifestyle.

While change in the domestic realm is recorded in the material assemblage, alterations to subsistence patterns are less clear. The presence of fine gauge snare wire indicates a retention of traditional behaviour, for aboriginal women generally acted as the small game procurers for the household, with concomitant use of foreign material (Van Kirk 1980a:58).

Although items were generally made elsewhere for the purpose of Native trade, some articles were made locally, generally from metal scrap, for example, sheet metal pendants and tinkling cones. Thimbles were often reused as pendants as well. These can be distinguished from sewing thimbles by their intentional perforations for attachment. Other locally manufactured items recovered were ground stone pipes and small wedges or chisels made from brass container handles. Overall, however, evidence for material reuse at the site complex is less obvious than at other sites where specimens of files, gun barrels, etc., have been used as source materials for manufacturing new items (Lohse 1988:400-401). The makers could have been either European or Indian. Production detritus from the Blacksmith's shop would seem to indicate the former.

Without doubt, Native female lifeways altered with their marriages to post employees. Their lives became more sedentary for the duration of these associations, although they still retained their mobile traditions to some extent when they 'wintered' out on the Plains with their husbands, or later returned to their home group when the men went bayside. In terms of their material culture, European goods supplementation rather than supplantation seems to best explain the character of the assemblages (Morantz 1980:46).

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has been about recognizing culture change through contact using archaeological and archival records. Its purpose has been to identify the trends in Native material culture change upon contact with Europeans and thereby illuminate the Native perspective of the fur trade. This has been addressed through archaeological investigations of the Fort George-Buckingham House plantation in conjunction with data collected from prior investigations of the Fort George residences and from contemporaneous journals and documents. In the following pages, I will review the research objectives in terms of the results of the study.

To briefly reiterate, the major objectives are:

1. To evaluate the plantation as a source of data for studying culture contact;
2. To identify the degree and direction of material culture change for an early historic Native occupation;
3. To determine aboriginal ethnic variation in culture contact and change;
4. To examine the impact of European contact on the material culture and activities of the Native wives of the forts' employees.

THE PLANTATION AS A DATA SOURCE

According to the available documentary evidence, the area lying between Fort George and Buckingham House is the most likely location for the plantation. This site offered good research potential because it represents an early contact situation undisturbed by subsequent reoccupation. However, extensive testing of the area yielded very little evidence for an historic Native presence in the form of features such as hearths, tipi rings, or concentrations of artifacts. In short, Native occupation of the trade camp site appears to be archaeologically invisible. This invisibility can be understood given the nature of the cultural formation processes at work on the site.

CULTURAL SITE FORMATION PROCESSES AT THE PLANTATION

One of the objectives of the study was to examine the agencies responsible for the site formation processes at this type of site as a means of evaluating the plantation as a source of archaeological data on contact and culture change. Despite the paucity of detail, the journal accounts do provide some indication of the cultural agencies acting to produce and modify the archaeological record of the plantation. Of these several relevant agencies, four are prominent: (1) length of visit, (2) Native activities, (3) ethnicity, and (4) European activities. These factors must be understood prior to any interpretations of culture transfer based on the archaeological record.

Length of Visit

The trading period, which averaged three days and was often less than one, is more suggestive of a situation of *visitation* than of *occupation* of the plantation (Schiffer 1987:100). Such brief durations would serve to restrict the amount and range of 'material fall-out' from cultural activities - as well as restricting the nature of the cultural activities themselves.

Native Activities

The range of Native activities occurring on the plantation were mainly social: eating, drinking, smoking and using (and losing) newly-acquired trade goods. These activities took place within the context of a limited range of features, namely hearths and tents, as well as in open areas. Traditional activities, such as subsistence procurement and primary butchering, clothing and tool manufacture would not have been prominent activities at this special purpose site given the short duration of habitation, and in fact, little archaeological evidence was found for these tasks. Thus, a major problem in identifying Native contact sites of this type concerns their lack of visibility in terms of archaeological evidence for traditional Native behaviour. The absence of typical aboriginal artifacts coupled with the presence of European goods would make ethnic identification difficult. Of course, it is the type of, and alteration to, the European artifacts (for example, locally-made tinkling cones and metal arrowheads), which would serve as signatures of an historic Indian presence whether the alteration was made by the Europeans or the Indians.

Little evidence of the pelts, provisions and birchbark brought into trade would be left on the plantation. Season of occupation would be difficult to establish given the limitations of the documentary data and the fact that Indian bands came to the site complex at all times of the year often stockpiling furs prior to travelling. Analysis of dental annuli or wear patterns, or epiphyseal fusion of any recovered animal bones would merely indicate kill season and not trade season.

In terms of material evidence for culture transfer, commonly adopted behaviours such as smoking, drinking and using European-made clothing would remain largely undetectable. Except for peripheral indicators such as pipes, nails and barrel strapping, and buttons and other decorative hardware, little material evidence of these activities would remain. Durable metal items such as guns, tools and jewellery would have the greatest possibility of survival.

Given the description of the Native disposal behaviour at the Grand Mains buffalo pound with "Carcases (sic) in the Pound and the mangled limbs of Buffaloes scattered among the Lodges" something of the same sort of sheet refuse disposal for artifacts could be expected at the plantation (Morton 1929:43). However, additional reuse (and hence disturbance) of features by subsequent Native occupations, would make the original systemic context difficult to identify.

Ethnicity

Any interpretation of the assemblage would be complicated by the factor of ethnicity. Many different tribes, of both Plains and Boreal origins, occupied the site both simultaneously (to the extent of sharing hearths) and sequentially (Morton 1929:72). In addition to the physical overlay of different cultures, certain behaviours, such as beaver hunting, were universal, making it difficult to isolate ethnic groups archaeologically. Furthermore, the demographic pattern of occupation was variable. We know that on several occasions, whole families came to trade, but bad weather often meant that only the male hunters of the bands would make the journey to the post (Morton 1929:55). Therefore, a plantation site would contain the remains of both family and single male activities.

European Activities

The most significant European activity related to formation processes at the plantation was the routine clean-up of the site. This secondary refuse disposal behaviour by members of another culture would mask the original context of the assemblage.

Other site formation processes initiated by the Europeans include clearing the area of trees, and perhaps, although there is no documentary evidence, conducting activities such as pemmican production and boat manufacture on the plantation. In addition, the trade camp was routinely occupied by transient Canadian freemen. Finally, recent amateur collection activities, although not extensive in terms of feature disturbance, undoubtedly affected the type and quantity of artifacts recovered in the 1988 excavations.

In summary, the archival evidence suggests that the historical integrity and resolution of the deposit is suspect (Binford 1981:19). The plantation is a site characterized by multiple brief visitations by various ethnic groups (including Europeans) who were all involved in activities leaving little material residue.

EVIDENCE FOR MATERIAL CULTURE CHANGE IN AN EARLY HISTORIC NATIVE OCCUPATION

Seeking evidence for culture transfer at a trade camp such as the Fort George-Buckingham House plantation is problematic because the cultural site formation processes serve to render the systemic context virtually illegible. An absence of features makes interpretations of the few European artifacts difficult.

The transaction accounts,on the other hand, although characterized by a lack of detail, offer at least a preliminary insight into the aboriginal material adaptation to the European trade. From these, we learn of the premier importance of tobacco and liquor which were frequently received by the Indians as gifts. According to these records, clothing and ammunition were commonly obtained articles of trade, while guns and 'ironwork' were mentioned less frequently.

Based on these data, a rather misleading interpretation of the fur trade primarily as a source of luxuries and gifts and secondarily as a source of weapons would result.

Of the three sources - the plantation archaeological record, the transaction records, and the accounts concerning the shipment and local production and repair of items - the latter are the most informative. These accounts substantiate the significance of alcohol and tobacco to the trade but also illustrate the high regard that Indian traders had for many of the metal goods offered by the Europeans. Multi-purpose tools such as knives and hatchets replaced aboriginal counterparts, while ice chisels were useful in beaver-trapping; files took the place of abraders for wood- and bone-working and awls and firesteels were used in place of Native domestic goods. The journals reveal that incorporation of European-made clothing fashioned from European materials and probably styled according to both European and Native tastes occurred early in the contact period. Guns and gun parts were more commonly acquired items than one would suspect from the daily accounts of the trade, although whether their use was primarily as an item of prestige or warfare or as a subsistence tool, cannot be determined. Finally, records of personal items, such as jewellery and combs, argue for the fur trade as both a source of non-essential goods as well as more utilitarian items. By considering documentary records other than those dealing exclusively with the commercial transactions, a fuller picture of the European contact as equally a source of both luxury and utilitarian items is apparent.

A comparison of the archival data pertaining to Native material culture change to data obtained from archaeological investigations of the men's residences located within and outside of Fort George is difficult. In the first case, we are looking at the Native response to European material culture from the perspective of the company trade accounts; in the second, the problem of differentiating archaeologically between Native female and European male activities exists. Nevertheless, some conclusions can be made.

Except for a few observations on subsistence strategy, aspects of Native cultural retention are not available from the documentary records. On the other hand, several artifacts which were recovered archaeologically suggest a retention of a range of aboriginal activities with, in some cases, incorporation of European materials or tools, for example in clothing construction. Evidence for tobacco smoking comes from both sources: tobacco and tobacco boxes were sold to the Indians while clay pipe fragments, commonly encountered at the site complex, may have partly replaced aboriginal stone pipes. The large quantities of jewellery recovered from the employees' quarters argues for the rapid replacement of shell and bone ornaments. Moreover, the artifact assemblage provides greater elaboration of the jewellery types, materials and methods of manufacture than can be gleaned from the archival accounts. While buttons recovered from excavations in association with Native clothing construction tools imply a persistence of clothing production techniques which incorporates buttons as decoration rather than as fasteners, at least some of the trade clothing was of European style according to the accounts. Finally, archaeological investigations produced a variety of tools related to female, and therefore Native, domestic tasks and other tasks less easily associated to gender that is unmatched in the trade accounts.

ABORIGINAL ETHNIC VARIATION IN CULTURE CONTACT

As Morantz (1980:57) aptly observes, "there was not one fur trade, but many". The fur trade contact situation varied chronologically, regionally, ethnically, and according to the gender of the recipients as well as to the specific culture trait in question. Certainly, in the case of Fort George and Buckingham House, aboriginal ethnic variation was a criterion of considerable significance for determining culture change through contact. Because of their intermediate location in the parkland zone, the posts were visited by both Woodland and Plains groups.

The majority of Woodland visitors were Cree, although numbers of Swampy Ground Assiniboine, Ojibwa and other eastern tribes also made an appearance. Twice as many Indians came from the Plains as from the Woodlands. The Plains traders were more nearly equally represented by several tribes including Blackfoot, Peigan, Blood, Sarsi, Assiniboine and a few Gros Ventres. The number of Peigan, Blood and Sarsi traders declined after the first three years perhaps due to the construction of new posts closer to their home territory or to their inclusion by the clerks under the general designation of 'Blackfoot'.

Identification of the Native commodities to indicate the region that the traders themselves came from was only partially successful. While some of the trade goods were broadly indicative of ethnic origin and basic lifeways, many other items were universally traded. Beaver, the most important fur resource, is a case in point. Traditionally considered a Woodland commodity, it was brought to the posts, in greater numbers by Plains groups than Woodland groups, although as a tribe, Cree Indians were the single most important supplier. Only the Blackfoot did not trap beaver. On the other hand, wolf and fox were traded almost exclusively by Plains tribes. These species represent two of only three ethnic markers associated exclusively with a Native group.

The second major Native trade item was provisions in the form of fresh and dried meat, fat and grease. Dried meat and fat from bison were brought in by Plains Indians. These items represent a second class of ethnic markers. Fresh meat was a trade item occasionally supplied by the Plains Indians to be made into pemmican on the fort premises. More often, it was acquired through the efforts of European or Native hired hunters. Grease was brought in by Cree and Assiniboine Indians. Other provisions acquired through trade included beaver flesh, geese and berries. Natives also brought in horses, castoreum and birchbark to exchange for European articles.

This ethnic diversity was not detectable in the archaeological record of the plantation. The lack of features together with the small artifact assemblage precludes the definition of spatial patterning related to ethnicity. Commodities that were ethnically-linked, such as wolf and fox pelts and dried bison meat and fat would not be visible in the archaeological record of the plantation.

All of the Native commodities were collected prehistorically, suggesting that traditional activities may have just intensified with European contact. In general, the Plains Indians adapted to the European interests by amplifying their traditional subsistence pattern for the fur trade. Greater quantities of bison, wolf and other game were procured in exchange for European commodities. However, they also altered their subsistence strategies to include trapping for beaver and the use of European weaponry. One adaptation made by some Woodland bands, perhaps in response to the fur trade, involved their movement onto the Plains and their participation in bison hunting. This lifestyle may have been perceived as an easier means with which to obtain European luxuries, especially given the rapid decline of local beaver shortly after the trading posts opened.

A more effective means of identifying Native ethnic groups archaeologically would logically involve the European goods they acquired. There are two reasons for this. First, variable trade policies for the tribes were established. Second, M'Gillivray's observations that the Plains Indians could live without European assistance but that they loved the luxuries that the trade provided suggests a difference in dependence on European goods for the Plains and the Woodland Indians (Morton 1929:47.48). However, this ethnically specific behaviour was not obvious in either the historical or the archaeological record. Non-essential items such as liquor and tobacco were consumed frequently by all Native groups. Both Plains and Woodland Indians acquired clothing and ammunition. Other categories of items such as iron work or sundry articles are uninformative and too infrequently mentioned to be useful in defining ethnic patterns of material culture transfer. Thus, although culture change through contact may have varied according to aboriginal ethnicity, it was not detectable in terms of the acquisition of European goods.

GENDER AND CULTURE CONTACT: NATIVE WIVES OF THE POST EMPLOYEES

During the early fur trade period, gender-based differences existed among the trading Indians in the duration and intensity of their contact with the Europeans. These distinctions are difficult to observe on the plantation itself because evidence for a Native presence is slight.

However, evidence of Native female contact is available through investigation of the employees' quarters, occupied by their Native wives. The artifacts obtained from the complete excavation of the 13 m by 6 m two-room wooden building located on the plantation suggest a Native female and an unidentified male (probably European) occupation. The building's structural similarities to the N.W.C. employees' quarters indicate a contemporaneous domestic function rather than one for industrial, storage, or business purposes.

The country marriages of the fur traders and the Indian women were promoted by both groups to encourage trade relations. This particular contact situation was sustained, intense and long-term. Opportunity existed for true acculturation on the part of the Native wives. These women acted as interpreters, prepared skins, netted snowshoes, and made line, pemmican and skin clothing in addition to undertaking domestic tasks. In return they received several articles such as cloth, beads, garters, knives, thread, tobacco, silk handkerchiefs, combs, awls, firesteels, rings, needles, vermillion, wooden and tobacco boxes, and blankets. Several of these items were found during archaeological investigation of the Plantation structure.

The artifact assemblage from the plantation structure corresponds well with that from excavation of the Fort George men's residences, where a Native female presence is documented. Previous investigators observed that the variety and number of Native goods increased as more of Fort George was excavated, although this was actually a function of the type of structures they were investigating; earlier efforts focused on the Main House and workshop areas, later ones on the employees' quarters (Losey and Pyszczyk 1979:197). They concluded that Native female activities were evident but without pattern. However, only aboriginal artifact distributions were considered. While Native women's artifacts found within the context of an historic building are indicative of a Native female historic presence, the effect of European culture contact on the Indian wives is represented by the association of Native and European domestic artifacts reflecting a female use.

The articles itemized in payment lists for employees' wives and those recovered from both the plantation residence and the dwellings within the N.W.C. palisade reveal a range of cultural responses to contact. There is a retention of traditional clothing construction techniques, footwear and ornamentation styles, if not material, apparent from the assemblages. Hide processing and sewing tools are often of traditional materials but have frequently been fashioned with metal tools indicating selective use of European technology. Sometimes they have been replaced by European facsimiles manufactured especially for the fur trade.

Evidence for the use of European clothing by the women is equivocal. According to the documents, tailor-made clothing was commonly obtained and the buttons, buckles, and grommets found would seem to attest to an adaptation to European contact. However, bone tools to make clothing suggest retention of traditional clothing manufacturing priorities. European clothing hardware, therefore, may have been used for decoration as well as for fastening.

The quantity and diversity of luxury goods recovered from the site complex, primarily in the form of jewellery suggest that the fur trade was seen as a source of decorative items perhaps rather than necessities by the women (although when arcnival data and European articles which are not gender specific are included, such as fire steels and awls, a more complex picture of balanced acquisition of luxury and utility items develops). Trade jewellery had replaced Native ornaments by this early period of contact, although the occasional find of decorative shell and pigment (mainly in the fort residences) indicates a concurrent retention of some aspects of Native ornamentation. Much of the trade jewellery was based on Native design or form. Some of these items are made locally such as pendants made from recycled materials.

The most significant adaptation occurred in utilitarian household items. Pottery and birchbark vessels were replaced by more durable and portable metal, ceramic and glass containers. But the small quantities of the European items recovered (some of which may have been recycled into other articles) suggest the continued use of traditional equivalents, which may simply not have preserved. The birchbark container found at Fort George and the fragment of Native pottery recovered on the plantation argue for cultural continuity as well, provided that the latter artifact is in fact contemporaneous with the fort occupation.

CONCLUSIONS

At present, investigations of contact and culture change in the Canadian fur trade are largely limited to a very small number of archaeological and historical studies. This situation must change if we are to gain a better understanding of the material and behavioural correlates for culture transfer. There is a continuing need for multidisciplinary approaches to the topic.

The present examination of the Fort George-Buckingham House plantation has led to the recognition that plantation sites may not be ideal repositories of archaeological information on culture transfer given the nature of the cultural formation processes acting on them. This plantation is characterized by multiple brief occupations in which specialized activities were undertaken which left little archaeological residue. The lack of tipi ring and hearth features make it difficult to differentiate Native occupations from occasional use of the site by the Europeans.

Determining the degree and direction of material culture change at this early historic Native site is problematic because of the paucity of material culture remains. However, archival sources and data obtained from archaeological investigations of gender-linked behaviour at the fort residences suggest both cultural retention and supplementation, or incorporation, characterized the Native response to the early contact situation. According to the historical sources, many European goods were acquired without explicit reciprocal obligation on the part of the aboriginal traders. Popular non-utilitarian items, such as tobacco, rum, and sets of clothing, were often given as gifts. Items that were specifically purchased were primarily metal goods. Practical items such as guns and iron tools, less frequently identified in the transaction records, were nevertheless important trade items according to historic accounts other than those relating strictly to the commercial negotiations.

Ethnic variation in culture contact was not apparent in archival records regarding the Native commodities brought in, nor the European trade items acquired, notwithstanding M'Gillivray's observation on the relative independence of the Plains Indians. Ethnicity indicators were completely absent archaeologically.

Given the problems related to using plantation sites to determine culture transfer, the best approach to culture transfer research in the fur trade appears to be through study of the gender-task differentiation that is discernable in assemblages from employees' residences at the forts. However, since many of these structures lying within the forts were dismantled or reused for other purposes after their initial occupation, archaeological investigations conducted outside the formal periphery of the posts may be the best method of obtaining undisturbed evidence of culture transfer in the form of 'suburban' residences occupied by post employees and their families.

FUTURE RESEARCH

More informative trade camp sites, with intact aboriginal features, exist at other forts (York Factory is an example). These should be investigated archaeologically for data pertaining to culture transfer. The best type of site for the study of fur trade culture transfer is ethnically isolated (i.e., occupied by a single Native tribe) and lacks problematical associations of material, ethnicity and chronology. Reserve sites may be the answer, but only if we can differentiate occupation periods.

This present study has been neither diachronic nor synchronic in scope. The data obtained should eventually be articulated with a long sequence of prehistoric and historic occupation. The Indians experienced European material culture years before actually coming in contact with the foreigners themselves. It was not possible to differentiate between proto- and early historic contact in this archaeological investigation but the attempt should be made in future research.

A regional approach to culture contact must be undertaken. As reasons for site occupation and activities associated with sites differ so do the archaeological assemblages. The adaptation we see in the plantation may not extend to other sites used by the trading Indians. In fact the majority of the Indian population experienced European culture indirectly. In what way did their response to European material culture differ from that of the Natives who travelled to the posts? By examining the fur trade in other environments and with specific Native groups, a clearer understanding of the contact situation, relations and processes will result.

The effect of European contact on Native cultural institutions should also be explored. Native burials associated with the posts would be a good place to start, provided they can be located.

There is a wealth of Native-European contact situations in Canada, aside from the land-based Anglo-French concerns, which are available for archaeological investigation. Research attention directed towards Russian maritime contact, Spanish maritime exploration, Basque fishing contact, Arctic trade and exploration, and Metis cultural development and contact would complement the present study and add greatly to our understanding of how culture change through contact is observable in the archaeological record.

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APPENDIX 1
ARTIFACT ANALYSIS

INTRODUCTION

There were 621 artifacts (597 after crossmending) recovered during excavation of the Fort George-Buckingham House plantation (FlOq-10). These totals exclude intrusive items such as a carburetor valve and a machine-made bottle. All cultural material, exclusive of structural elements such as wood and mud plaster, was catalogued. Following the classification format established by Kidd, the artifacts were organized into functional complexes "placed in approximate order from the more nearly basic subsistence to least basic ornamental or recreational categories" (1970:69). Some overlap undoubtedly occurs among the artifact classes. For example, flat glass fragments may represent mirrors, medicine bottles or windows. Clasp knives could equally be classed as household, hunting or woodworking items. As with the other investigations of the F.G.-B.H. site complex, the category of 'trade items' has not been used in this study. However, unlike the prior research which excluded articles identified as the products of Native industries from functional classification, these items have been incorporated into such classes, when possible. Once organized into one of the 12 major functional classes (bone tool production; stone tool production; hunting; architecture; woodworking; clothing construction; miscellaneous tools; household; personal; recreation; clothing and adornment and miscellaneous or unidentifiable items) all artifacts were further subdivided on the basis of specific function as well as form and style. Representative examples of most artifact classes are illustrated. The numbers given in parentheses in the figure captions are partial catalogue numbers. The first number represents the excavation unit, the second the artifact number.

Artifacts described and illustrated in previous reports of the site complex formed the comparative basis from which the Fort George-Buckingham House plantation artifacts were identified. In addition, collections at the Provincial Museum of Alberta as well as secondary references on historic artifacts were also consulted. Metallurgical analysis consisted of macroscopic or (occasionally) microscopic analysis and classification into the following types: iron, copper alloy, pewter (or white metal when uncertain) and trade silver. Measurements are in metric units. Unless otherwise specified the maximum measurement for a stated dimension is given to the nearest 0.5 mm.

The artifact distribution by function and feature is summarized in Tables 14 to 26. Artifact quantities listed in the text and in the tables refer to crossmended totals; the actual numbers of artifacts are given in parentheses. Intrusive artifacts are not included in these summary tables nor in the figures. For comparative purposes, excavation units included under the term 'plantation' include all the test units and excavation units exclusive of those relating to the lithic production area located on the promontory, and to those relating to the cabin or the activity area in front of the cabin. In these tables, units 1, 7, 10, 17, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 33, 60, 61, 99, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106,107 as well as artifacts without provenience (identified as FlOq-10:s) are included in the general plantation category. Units 54,56,57 contained artifacts from the promontory area. Units G-20, G-30, 46-49, 51, 76-92, 94-98 contained artifacts from the cabin. Artifacts from the front yard area were collected from units 38, 39, 40, 62-67, 69, 70, 72, 73, 75.

BONE TOOL PRODUCTION

GROOVED BONE FLAKE N=1

One long bone shaft fragment has been unifacially flaked off of a larger tool (Figure 5a). A narrow, 0.5 cm wide, groove has been formed by abrasion.

POLISHED BONE FLAKE N=1

One long bone shaft fragment exhibits axe marks where it has been driven off from a larger item (Figure 5b). Grinding and polishing are visible along one surface.

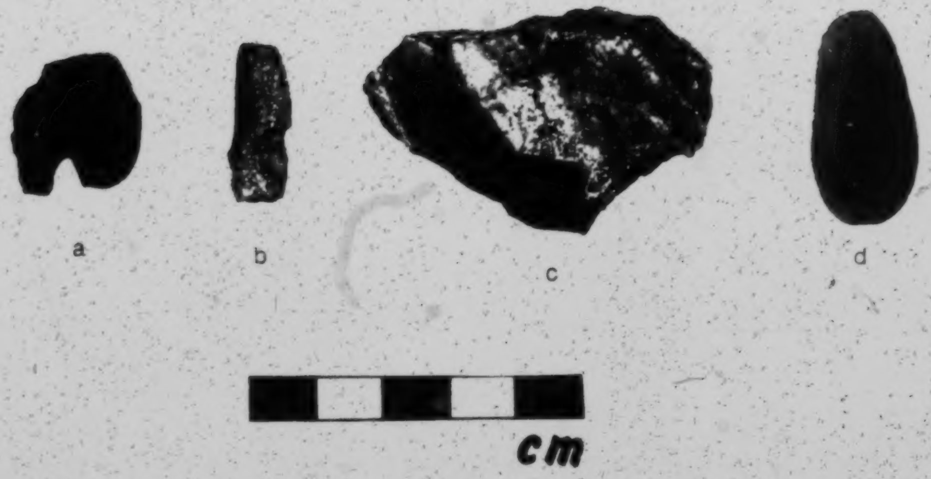

FIGURE 5. BONE TOOL PRODUCTION: (a) grooved bone flake (48-7); (b) polished bone flake(83-7); STONE TOOL PRODUCTION: (c) core fragment (23-4); (d) bipolar split pebble (23-1)

STONE TOOL PRODUCTION

Most of the lithic material is quartzite which ranges in colour from yellow-grey to red-brown to a single piece of black material. Seven additional pieces are identified as follows: petrified wood, jasper, Swan River chert, grey chert and black chert (2). Flake fragments (proximal, medial, distal) are not generally distinguished from complete flakes.

LITHIC DEBITAGE N=146

Primary Flakes N=6

Six primary quartzite flakes are identified by the presence of cortex material completely covering the dorsal surface.

Secondary Flakes N=17

Seventeen quartzite flakes are identified by the presence of some cortex material

Tertiary Flakes N=58

This category consists of simple core reduction flakes having an absence of cortex. They are made of quartzite except for one piece of Swan River chert.

Biface Thinning Flakes N=3

These secondary flakes resulting from biface production exhibit characteristic thin, curved profiles, scars across the dorsal surface and lipped platforms which have remnants of a bifacial edge.

Shatter N=62

Shatter fragments are identified by the absence of flake characteristics. They are tabular or blocky in form and, except for a single piece of petrified wood and a piece of jasper, all of quartzite. Occasionally, some of these pieces may actually be the distal ends of flakes. They are found in association with the other quartzitic debitage.

CORE FRAGMENTS N=1

One exhausted core is made from Peace Point chert (Figure 5c).

BIPOLAR SPLIT PEBBLE N=2

Two black chert pebbles have been bipolarly split (Figure 5d).

HUNTING AND TRAPPING

GUNFLINTS N=16

Following the typology of Kidd (1970) and Losey et al. (1978), gunflints are distinguished on the basis of method of manufacture and general form. Seven specimens are gunspalls, made on individually struck flakes (Type 1). These wedge-shaped items exhibit bulbs of percussion (Figure 6a). They are 2.2 to 2.7 cm long and 2.25 to 2.3 cm wide. (Losey's gunspall subcategories are not used, as they are based on wear patterns). Blade gunflints have been made by sectioning long blades produced from cores (Type 2). They do not exhibit bulbs of percussion. Five gunflints are of this type (Figure 6b). These range in size from 1.7-2.7 cm in length and 2.15-2.8 cm in width and can be further distinguished on the basis of heel or back shape. English gunflints have squared backs, while those of French manufacture have rounded backs (Smith 1960, cited in Losey 1978:100). Three of the gunflints have straight backs, two are too small to be identified. Two specimens are unidentifiable to type due to extensive use or fragmentation (Figure 6c). Some of these may have been later used as strike-a-lights. Two gunflint fragments were recovered. The sample ranges in colour from dark brown to dark grey with four burnt to a chalky grey-white colour.

MUSKET BALLS N=5

Three large balls for muzzle-loading weapons range in diameter from 1.35 to 1.5 cm (0.55-0.6 in) (Figure 6d). One spent ball is of about the same diameter. One used lead ball, 0.8 cm (0.3 in) in diameter, may have been used in a pistol (Figure 6e).

METAL PROJECTILE POINTS N=3

Two iron projectile points and one incomplete copper alloy point have triangular blades with straight lateral edges. One of the iron points has a straight base and a length of 5.0 cm

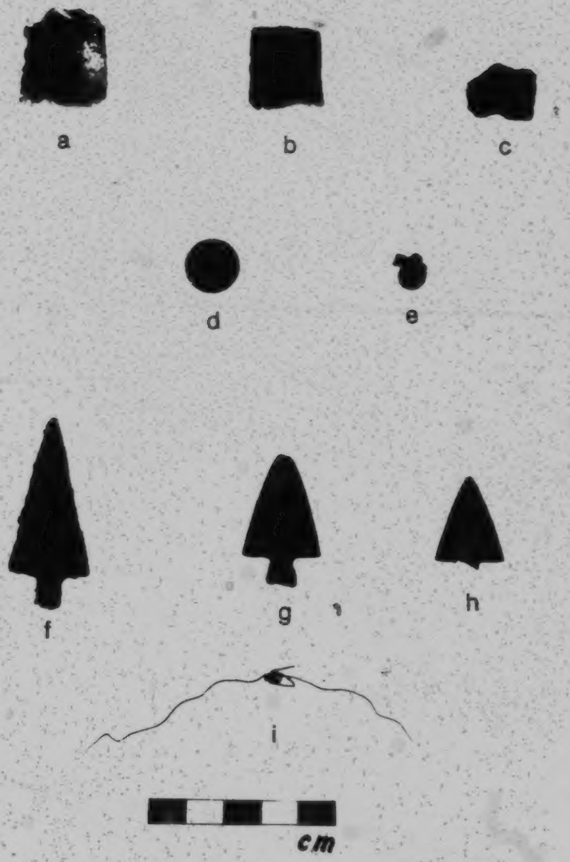

FIGURE 6. HUNTING AND TRAPPING: (a) gunspall (89-1); (b) gunflint (blade type) (94-1); (c) unidentifiable gunflint type (63-1); (d) large musket ball (102-1); (e) medium musket ball, used (24-1); (f-h) projectile points: iron (81-1, 101-1), copper (67-1); (i) snare fragment (?) (95-5)

(Figure 6f); it resembles a specimen illustrated in Kidd (1970: Figure 61f). The second iron point has a flared stem somewhat like Figure 61e in Kidd (1970). A portion of the tip and base are missing (Figure 6g); it is 3.5 cm long. The copper alloy point consists of a straight-sided blade which measures 2.5 cm (Figure 6h).

SNARE FRAGMENT (?) N=1

Two pieces of fine gauge, 0.5 mm, copper alloy wire have been knotted together (Figure 6i). Similar specimens, with loops at one or both ends, have been identified by Kidd (1970:95) as possible snare wire for catching small game.

AGRICULTURE

CARBURETOR FLUTTER VALVE N=1 INTRUSIVE

A large, heavy valve probably is probably a tractor part and dates to the twentieth century. It has been mended with a wire nail.

ARCHITECTURE

HANDWROUGHT IRON NAILS N=185 (70 complete; 49 head and shaft; 66 shaft only)

Handwrought nails constitute the most diverse and numerous artifact category. Preservation is sufficient to allow identification of 90% of the nail heads, although usewear may have altered the original head form. Kidd's (1970) typology is used with some modification, as occasionally his nail classes overlap. Nail lengths were not measured.

The most common nail type is the rosehead nail which exhibits three to four hammer facets on the head (N=54: 36 complete; 18 incomplete) (Figure 7a). Clasphead or gable head nails are distinguished by the two sharply angled facets (set to dig into the wood) which form the head (N=15: 9 complete; 6 incomplete) (Figure 7b). Flathead nail heads are rectangular to round in outline and flat on top (N=8: 4 complete; 4 incomplete) (Figure 7c). A variant of this type is termed 'offset'. These nails have the same head morphology as the former except that they are

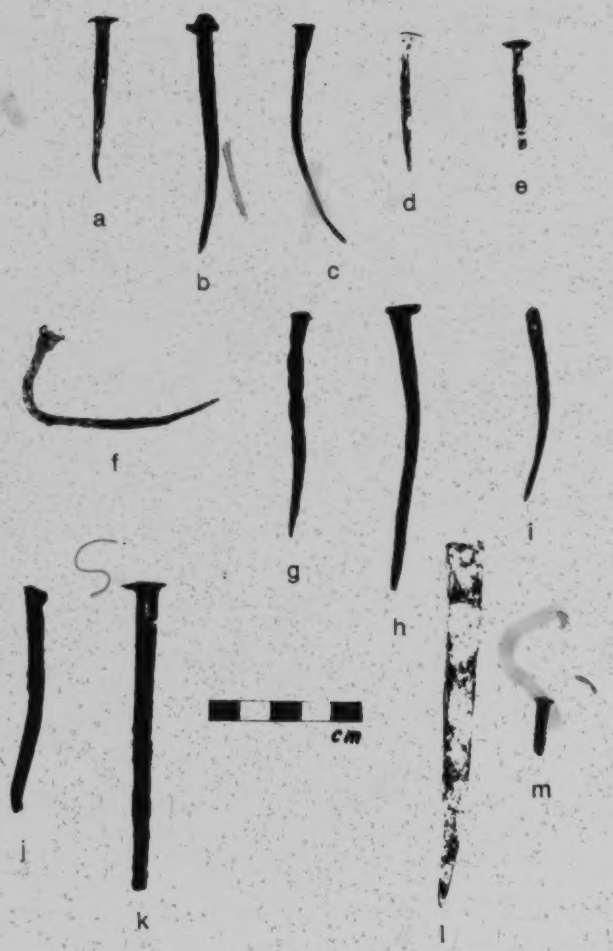

FIGURE 7. ARCHITECTURE: HANDWROUGHT NAILS (a) rosehead (G30-1); (b) clasphead (88-4); (c) flathead (107-1); (d) offset flathead (76-11); (e) T-head (89-12); (f) shouldered T-head (G20-1); (g) twisted shank T-head (101-7); (h) L-head (24-2); (i) headless (65-4); (j) shouldered, headless (60-15); SPIKES: (k) rosehead (102-2); (l) headless (92-37); WOODSCREWS (m) flat head (18-1)

not centred on the shaft (N=8: 4 complete; 4 incomplete) (Figure7d). T-head nails overhang the shaft on two opposite sides and lie flush with the shaft on the other two sides (N=7: 3 complete; 4 incomplete) (Figure 7e). A variety of this form is known as shouldered T-head nails whereby the shaft expands to be the size and form of the head (N=1: complete) (Figure 7f). One T-head (or possibly a clasp head) nail with a partially twisted shank was also recovered (Figure 7g). Presumably the twisted shank aided in holding the wood more securely. This nail type was not found in previous site investigations. It was present in collections from Fort White Earth (Nicks 1969:140, Plate 4). L-head nails are similar to T-head nails except the head overhangs the shaft on only one side (N=1: complete) (Figure 7h). Four complete headless nails were recovered (Figure 7i) and an additional four nails were of the shouldered, headless type (1 complete; 3 incomplete) (Figure 7j). Sixteen nails (6 complete; 10 incomplete) were too fragmented or corroded to identify.

HANDWROUGHT SPIKES N=5

Based on previous typologies of Fort George artifact assemblages, spikes are identified as having a shaft thickness in excess of 0.5 cm. Two of the complete specimens recovered have bevelled or 'chisel tips'; the other is pointed. Two have rosehead type heads, one is headless (N=4: 2 incomplete) (Figure 7k, l).

WOOD SCREWS N=2

The two ferrous wood screws recovered have similar forms with flat heads and slightly off-centre slots. The latter is evidence of their handmade nature (Michael Forsman pers. comm. November 1989). Lacking tips, their incomplete lengths range from 1.9 to 2.28 cm and their head diameters are 0.7 cm and 0.95 cm, respectively (Figure 7m). They were rarely encountered in previous excavations of the area and were incorrectly identified as intrusive by Losey et al. (1978:119).

THUMB TACK N=1 INTRUSIVE

A single round-shafted thumbtack was recovered. This postdates the occupation of the site as wire nails were not produced until the 1850s (Nelson 1968).

WOODWORKING TOOLS

RASP FRAGMENT N=1

One broken section of a half-round rasp blade has a maximum width of 2.15 cm and a maximum thickness of 0.7 cm (Figure 8a).

FILE FRAGMENTS N=3

One flat, double cut file is represented by a fragment of a blade and a tang (Figure 8b). The tang, which has been cut with a chisel, exhibits no maker's mark to identify it. Blade width is 1.65 cm; tang length is 4.1 cm.

A second file consists of a portion of a tang with 'BRAMALL' stamped on it (Figure 8c). This is the most common file mark found at Fort George (Kidd 1970:88).

A third specimen is a corroded cut file tang which appears to have 'I $\underset{9}{\therefore}$ C' stamped on it (Figure 8d). Corrosion prevents the positive identification of the mark at present. The manufacturer has not been identified in previous analyses of material from the site complex.

GIMLET N=1

An incomplete iron gimlet (a small boring tool with a spiral, pointed cutting edge) has been broken above the bit (Figure 8e). A channel, 1.5 cm long, runs along one side of the shaft. The other end consists of a flattened tang for insertion into a handle.

WEDGES OR CHISELS (?) N=3 (4 artifacts)

Four fragments of round brass rods cross-mend to form three container handle fragments that have each been flattened at one end to form a wedge (Figure 8f-h). One wedge-end has been cut along one face and heavily flattened on the other to form a spatulate shape. The variation suggests that they were locally manufactured. In 1979, investigators at Fort George also noted modification to identical items in the form of cutting or breaking the ends, and, in one case, filing an end to a point.

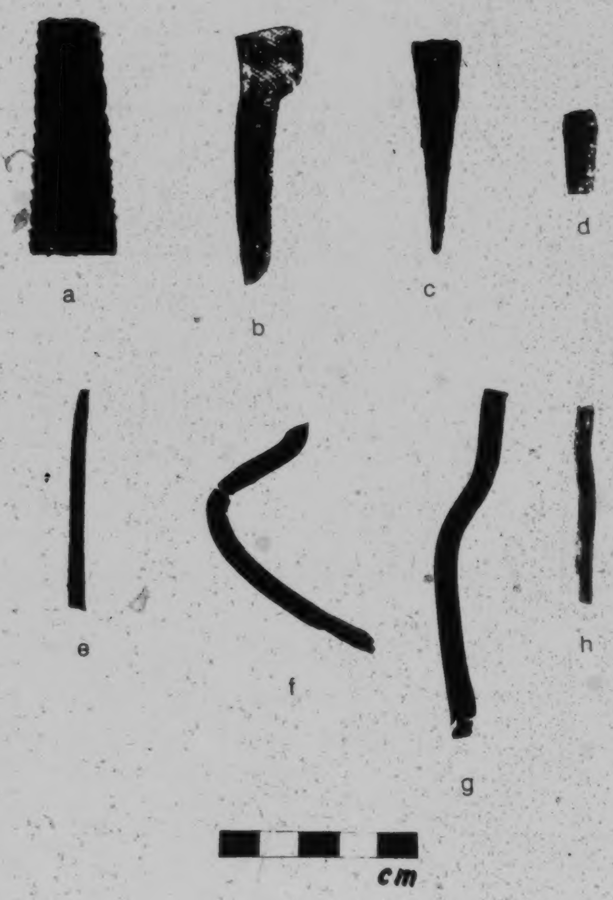

FIGURE 8. WOODWORKING TOOLS: (a) rasp fragment (81-3); (b) file blade and tang (76-22); (c) file tang 'BRAMALL' (81-4); (d) file tang (96-3); (e) gimlet (60-22); (f-h) wedges/chisels (?) (49-2 and 85-3 crossmend, 96-6, G20-2)

CLOTHING CONSTRUCTION

FLESHER N=1

One complete flesher consists of an articulated adult *Alces alces* right metatarsal, naviculocuboid and cuneiform (Figure 9a). The proximal end of the metatarsal and portions of the tarsal bones have been cut with an axe. The shaft has been smoothed with a metal file. The file marks on the posterior surface (the working face) are highly polished and nearly invisible. The bit is gradually bevelled and originally consisted of 11 teeth. The dimensions are as follows: length 33.6 cm; width 3.4 cm; thickness 3.3 cm.

BONE SCRAPER N=1

One moose metatarsal fragment has been roughly fashioned into an expedient hide scraping tool (Figure 9b). Split longitudinally, the fragment has a transverse fracture which served as a striking platform to drive off flakes. The flake scars exhibit worn edges. On the inside of the bone, the surface appears to have been slightly smoothed and bevelled. The incomplete (?) length is 7.5 cm.

BONE AWL N=1

An incomplete awl (13.8 cm in length) has been manufactured from a mature fifth metacarpal (*Alces alces*) with very little modification (Figure 9c). The surface is smoothed over with a metal file. The tip is bevelled, apparently through breakage, for comparison with an immature specimen shows the latter to be longer. The awl resembles a specimen found by Kidd (1970:Figure 99d).

CROOKED OR OFFSET AWL N=1

One incomplete ferrous awl is double pointed and offset in the centre, presumably to provide support when hafted (Figure 9d). It is squared at one end and broken at the other. Awls were shipped and distributed in this form, later to be provided with antler handles by the Indians (Russell 1967:318).

FIGURE 9. CLOTHING MANUFACTURE: (a) flesher (81-8); (b) scraper; (c) bone awl (48-6); (d) crooked awl (83-4).

MISCELLANEOUS TOOLS

SCRAPER N=1

One bifacially flaked grey pebble chert scraper was probably a multi-purpose tool used on wood or bone (Figure 10a). Alternatively it could represent a gunflint made from locally available material.

GROUND STONE ABRADERS (?) N=2 (7 artifacts)

Six fragments of slate crossmend to form a flat, triangular object which may have functioned as an abrader (Figure10b). It has been grooved and snapped. It is 6.9 cm long, 1.5 cm wide and 0.5 cm thick. One side and edge exhibit polish. Faint scratch marks are visible on one side of the wide end. The second, incomplete, specimen is 5.0 cm long, 0.95 cm at the greatest width and 0.15 cm thick (Figure 10c). It is broken at both ends and ground on one face. No counterparts were found in the collections consulted.

KNIVES

CLASP KNIVES N=2

A fully extended clasp knife consists of an 8.3 cm long, curve-backed, ferrous blade and a portion of a ferrous handle, 8.25 cm long (Figure 10d). A second clasp knife is represented by a ferrous handle complete with four pins for securing the inlay (usually of bone, antler or wood), now not present (Figure 10e). It is 8.2 cm long. Both of these have handles which are too short to represent utensils which generally have straight blade backs. These items, and those that follow, could equally be classified as hunting items as Kidd (1970) has done or as woodworking tools. Because of their multiple functions, they have been included in this general category of miscellaneous tools.

KNIFE HANDLE CASING N=1

An ornamental casing fragment of copper alloy filigree design is similar but not identical to specimens illustrated in Kidd (1970: Figure 61r) and Losey and Pyszczyk (1979:Plate

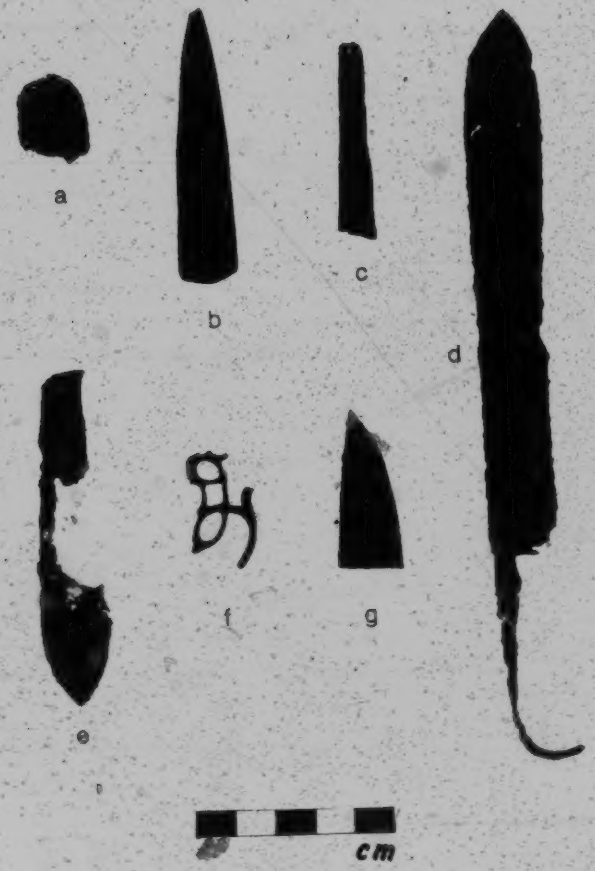

FIGURE 10. MISCELLANEOUS TOOLS: (a) scraper (1-1); (b-c) ground stone abraders (?) (73-2-7, 60-31); (d-e) clasp knives (86-11, 49-4); (f) knife handle casing (90-10); (g) knife blade (96-5)

3:R8M11J5-4). The former source identifies the article as a clasp knife covering, the second as a table knife handle. It could be either (Figure 10f).

KNIFE BLADE N=1

A cut ferrous fragment consists of a straight back and a curved cutting edge (Figure 10g). It is slightly wedge-shaped in cross-section suggesting its function as a cutting tool.

HOUSEHOLD ITEMS

METAL CONTAINERS

SPIGOT KEY N=1

One complete 6.0 cm long hollow-shanked key of copper alloy was recovered (Figure 11a). The handle is identical to one identified as a spigot key fragment consisting of an oval, brass key loop, hexagonal in cross-section (Losey and Pyszczyk 1979:100, Plate 40). Such a key is used to open the spigot cock on liquor kegs (Stone 1974:180).

HANDLE N=1

A 0.4 cm thick ferrous U-shaped rod may be the handle from a small pot, trunk or door (Figure 11b). The ends are slightly cut and bevelled, suggesting that the item is complete. It has no analog in assemblages recovered from Fort George and Buckingham House which, for the most part, contain larger ferrous handles with looped ends for fastening.

BARREL STRAPPING N=1

A 2.5 cm wide fragment of a cut ferrous sheet metal band may represent barrel strapping (Figure 11c). At one end the corners have been cut and a rivet hole is present. The unexpected paucity of barrel strapping in this assemblage and in the F.G.-B.H. assemblages may be explained by the high reuse to which kegs and their hoops were put and the value placed on them as raw material sources for other articles.

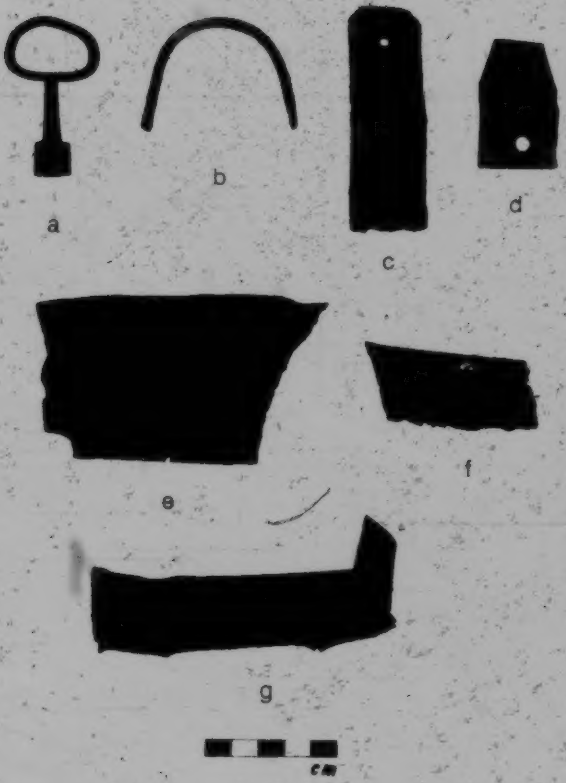

FIGURE 11. HOUSEHOLD ITEMS: METAL CONTAINERS (a) spigot key (84-5); (b) handle (87-3); (c) barrel strapping (51-9); (d) kettle lug (40-4); (e) kettle body fragments (48-1-3); (f-g) container rims (47-3-5, 85-4)

KETTLE LUG N=1

A complete ferrous lug is represented by a rectangular band of thick folded, sheet metal with trimmed top corners (Figure 11d). The lug is sinuous in cross-section. A centre ridge allows the lug to fit around the kettle rim (Losey 1980:A21). Two perforations occur at either end for attachment to the kettle body and to attach the handle. It does not resemble lugs identified in previous investigations at the posts as these are generally of copper alloy and/or very different in form. This varia[illegible] suggests local manufacture, or at least local repair, of lugs.

KETTLE BODY FRAGMENTS N=1 (3 artifacts)

Three fragments of cut copper alloy sheeting may represent a kettle body fragment (Figure 11e). A red, powdery stain, which is possibly a pigment, covers them. Bands of parallel scoring are visible. These are much narrower than those illustrated in Kidd (1970: Figure 76l) which run around the interior of the kettle.

CONTAINER RIMS N=2 (4 artifacts)

Bands of 2.6 to 2.8 cm wide ferrous sheet metal have flat folded-over rims along one side and bent edges along the other side suggesting a flat container, less than 3.0 cm high (Figure 11f,g). These may be snuff, tobacco or tinder boxes. Tinned food was not manufactured until several years after abandonment of the site. The items appear similar to tin box fragments illustrated in Kidd (1970: Figure 77h). Losey and Pyszczyk (1979:101) identify nearly similar artifacts as tobacco box fragments; however, the latter have rims which are folded over thin wire loops.

GLASS BOTTLES

LIQUOR BOTTLE FRAGMENTS N=9

Several dark olive green glass bottle fragments are identified: three flat body fragments; two curved body fragments; two base-body fragments; two base fragments (Figure 12a-e). Some of the body and base fragments are free-blown. They represent containers for quality wines, sherry and brandy. The flat body fragments may represent case or gin bottles which are square, rectangular or octagonal in shape. These would have been mould manufactured.

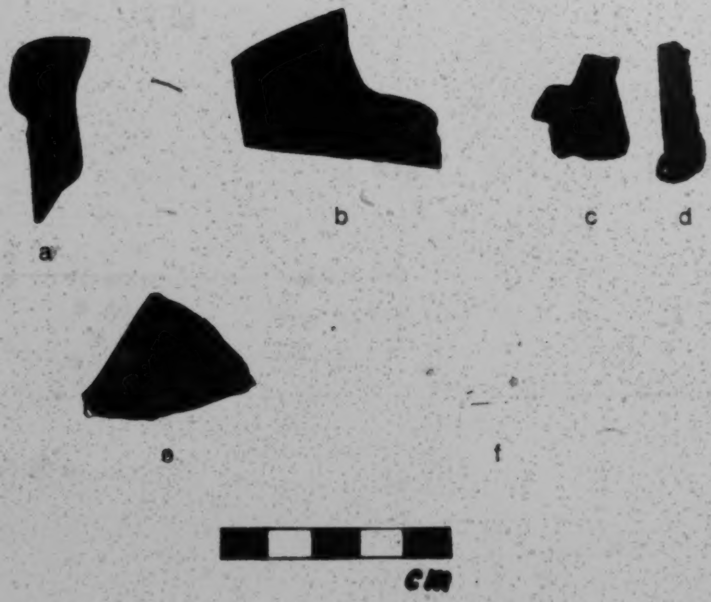

FIGURE 12. HOUSEHOLD ITEMS: GLASS BOTTLES (a-e) liquor bottle fragments, flat body (10-1), curved body (22-1), base-body (20-1,2) and base (60-25); (f) pharmaceutical/medicine bottle fragment (94-7)

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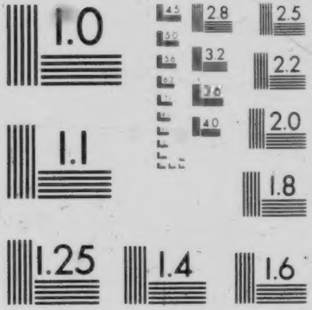

1.0
4.5
5.0
5.6
6.3
2.8
3.2
3.6
4.0
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2.2
2.0
1.1
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1.4
1.6

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

PHARMACEUTICAL/MEDICINE BOTTLE FRAGMENTS N=1

One clear glass fragment is curved and exhibits a seam indicating its mould blown method of manufacture (Figure 12f).

SOFT DRINK OR MINERAL WATER BOTTLE FRAGMENT N=1 INTRUSIVE

One clear stippled machine-made finish fragment is of the crown cap type first manufactured in 1892 for beer, soft drink and mineral waters (Lief 1965, cited in Jones et al. 1985:79). This surface find is intrusive, greatly post-dating the occupation of the fort. Machine-made finishes were first produced in 1904 (Jones et al. 1985:79).

CERAMIC VESSELS

GALLIPOT N=5 (15 artifacts)

Eleven fragments crossmend to form a small salt-glazed pot, 6.0 cm in diameter (Figure 13a). Although it is lacking the base and a portion of the body, its height is approximately 4.9 cm and it has a slightly outward bending folded rim. This is the most complete example of a gallipot (used as a container "for ointments such as hair pomade") found at the F.G.-B.H. site complex (Whate 1978, cited in Karklins 1983:107).

One rim fragment and three body fragments (all burnt), none of which crossmend, represent at least one additional vessel.

WHITE UNDECORATED EARTHENWARE N=1

One rim fragment represents a portion of a small vessel (a cup or bowl, perhaps) of approximately 7.0 cm diameter (Figure 13b). The straight vessel sides end in a folded over rim (cf., Kidd 1970:Figure 78c, for comparison).

CREAM UNDECORATED EARTHENWARE N=7 (10 artifacts)

At least one 10.0 cm diameter vessel with slightly outward bending folded over rims is represented by two rim fragments which crossmend with two body fragments (Figure 13c). Six other vessel body fragments were identified from the same provenience, probably representing the same vessel (cf., Kidd 1970:Figure 78g).

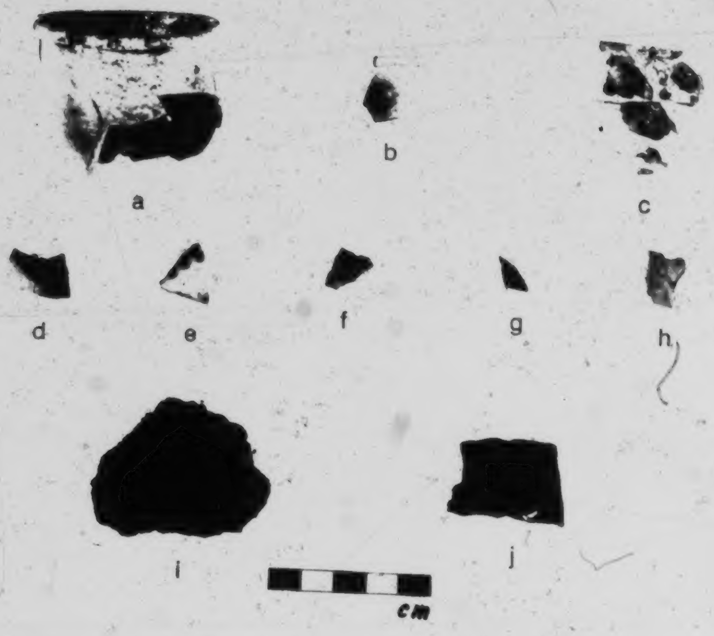

FIGURE 13. HOUSEHOLD ITEMS : CERAMIC VESSELS (a) gallipot (47-6-11, 80-2,91-3-6); (b) white undecorated earthenware (65-5); (c) cream undecorated earthenware (66-3 and 65-6-8 crossmend); (d-h) transferprint earthenware (69-4, 48-8, 65-13, 85-5, 69-5); Native pottery (24-9); (j) ground stone handle (?) (47-12)

TRANSFERPRINT BLUE ON WHITE GLAZED EARTHENWARE N=5

The five body fragments recovered have similar patterns to those recovered in previous investigations (Figure 13d-h). One fragment, Figure 13d, resembles an example illustrated by Kidd (1970:Figure 79-b,c). Three fragments (Figure 13e-g) have a pattern similar to another specimen depicted in Kidd 1970 (Figure 79-d). However, another ceramic fragment illustrated by Kidd (Figure 79-e) exhibits both of these patterns together on the same specimen. The last specimen is a small plain, glazed fragment (Figure 13h). Generally the pieces are too small to infer vessel form, although FlOq-10:48-8, the largest specimen, is thick, curved in both direction suggesting its function as a bowl.

NATIVE POTTERY N=1

A single Native pottery fragment (Figure 13i) is classed as 'thick-smooth' in Byrne's typology (1973:160, 161). This 1.6 cm thick sherd may be from the body or rounded base. The large angular rock temper in excess of 0.6 cm is not atypical (Byrne 1973:160). There is some slight evidence of linearity on the exterior surface, which may represent cord-marked, smoothed-over surface decoration. Modification of the surface finish tends to be a later technique (Rod Vickers, Plains Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of Alberta, pers. comm. October 1989). It is not possible to identify the age of the pottery specifically. It was recovered from an historic/intrusive context in an area lying between the cabin and Fort George which contained period historic artifacts as well as a recent thumbtack.

GROUND STONE HANDLE (?) N=1

A soapstone fragment has been finely ground on one face. A lead rivet lies flush to the surface (Figure 13j). The obverse consists of three roughly hand cut channels. The centre channel, 1.3 cm wide, contains the broken end of the rivet. The side channels are 0.3 cm wide. Although no other specimens have been located in the museum collections, this artifact is tentatively identified as a container or utensil handle.

PERSONAL ITEMS

STRAIGHT RAZOR N=1

A straight, folding razor blade fragment has a thin spine and an even narrower cutting edge (Figure 14a). A channel runs underneath the spine along one side. Similar items have been found in previous investigations of Fort George. Some (Kidd 1970:120) contain the inscription:

ROME/ACIER FOND[U]

MIRROR (?) GLASS N=11

Eleven fragments of flat glass may be remnants of mirrors. Two pieces show evidence of 'silvering' in the form of a brownish coating flecked with silver (Figure 14b). All are transparent with a light green tint. There is a possibility that some of these fragments could represent flat-sided medicine bottles or window glass, but the later is unlikely to be contemporaneous with the eighteenth century occupation of such outposts. Parchment window coverings were more typical (cf., PAC MG 19 A8 v.5 September 6, 1799).

RECREATION: SMOKING EQUIPMENT

CLAY PIPE FRAGMENTS N=55 (58 artifacts)

Remains of short-stemmed, mould-made clay pipes are common at this site: 28 stems; 21 bowls; three bowl-stems and three mouthpiece fragments (Figure 15a-d). Unfortunately, no complete pipes, bowls or stems were recovered, neither are there any fragments with maker's marks available. A stem fragment, the one pictured, has been incised, although not cut, possibly for use as a bead or hair pipe. New mouthpieces have not been refashioned on any of the stem fragments.

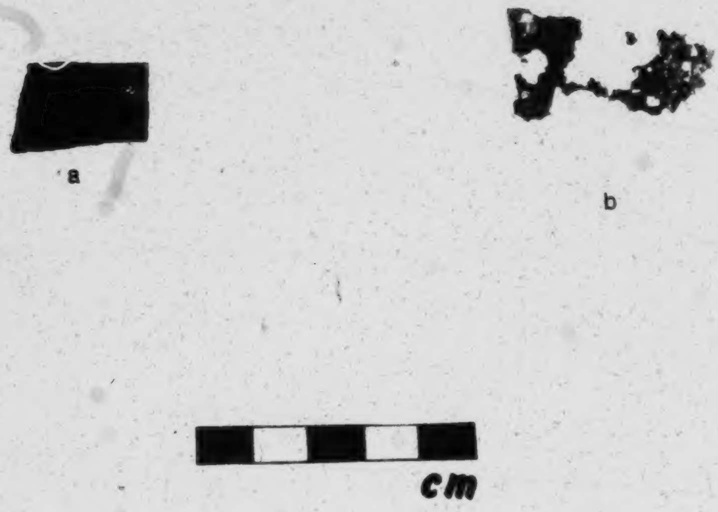

FIGURE 14. PERSONAL ITEMS: (a) straight razor (76-37); (b) mirror (?) glass (89-20)

STONE PIPE FRAGMENTS N=4

Stone Pipe Bowl Fragments N=3

One dark grey siltstone bowl fragment has an outside diameter of 3.5 cm. (Figure 15e) The interior face has been finely ground, while the exterior surface has been less carefully whittled. There is no evidence for the use of metal tools in its construction. It resembles a complete punctate-style pipe, FlOq-1: R8M11J8-20, found previously at Fort George (Losey 1980:A30)

A second pipe bowl fragment has been fashioned from pink siltstone (Figure 15f). No tool marks were visible, except for some scratch marks inside. The fragment is too small to determine the diameter. It consists of 0.5 cm wide channel incised 1.0 cm below the rim. 'Light red' siltstone pipe-making detritus, covered with metal file- and saw-marks, was recovered by Kidd (1970:155, Figure 87n,o).

A plain yellow siltstone pipe bowl fragment has an approximate diameter of 3.0 cm (Figure 15g). No tool marks are visible.

Pipe Preform N=1

One yellow siltstone cylinder, 9.0 cm long and 4.6 cm in diameter, has been roughly shaped with a metal file (Figure 15h). It resembles Rutsch's (1973) 'plain bore tube' class of stone pipes. The filemarks are oriented in all directions. Small, 0.5 cm wide, holes have been ground at each end, perhaps as marks preparatory to hollowing out the pipe tube. Some flaking at one end suggests that it was damaged and therefore abandoned before completion. The Fort George collection contains comparable specimens. R8M4D2-1, recovered from the 1978 excavations, (Losey and Pyszczyk 1979:104) is a similarly formed grey siltstone pipe preform that has been split longitudinally. R8M11J8-19 is a filed pipe preform of identical material to FlOq-10:83-8, although it exhibits a different form. It is part of the 1979 assemblage (Losey 1980:A30).

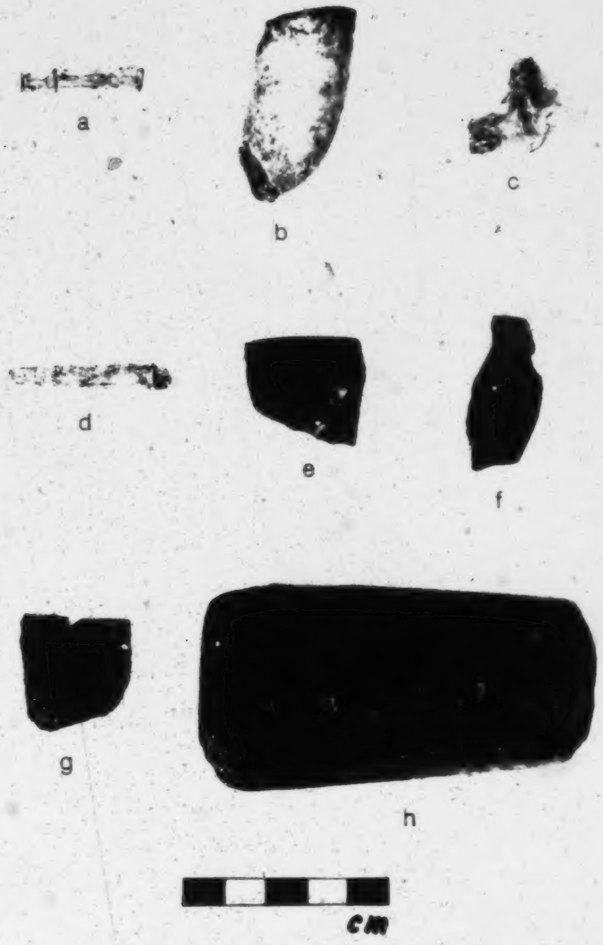

FIGURE 15 RECREATION: SMOKING EQUIPMENT (a) clay pipe stem (90-11); (b) clay pipe bowl (87-4); (c) clay pipe bowl stem (76-34); (d) clay pipe mouthpiece (86-16); (e) plain grey siltstone pipe bowl (76-38); (f) pink 'channeled' siltstone pipe bowl (98-1); (g) plain yellow siltstone pipe (92-38); (h) pipe preform (83-8)

CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTATION

BUTTONS N=16

Buttons can be considered both as clothing fasteners and as ornaments. According to Woodward (1965:26), thin flat brass buttons in varying sizes "were used almost entirely for ornaments by the Indians, unless attached to garments traded or sold to the tribesmen".

Copper Alloy Decorated Buttons N=3

One button, 1.65 cm in diameter, is decorated with an incised pattern consisting of an eight-petalled flower rimmed with a series of wavy lines along the button edge (Figure 16a). It is fastened by means of a braized eye.

A second button is decorated with a sun motif consisting of a circle surrounded by arched rays lying within a stippled circle inset from the rim (Figure 16b). It is 1.3 cm in diameter and appears to have a braized eye.

A third specimen has a star pattern of a stippled circle surrounded by twelve stippled rays (Figure 16c). It appears similar to one described but not illustrated in Losey (1980:A32). It is 1.45 cm in diameter with a braized eye.

Plain Plated Copper Alloy Buttons N=4

Four flat disc-shaped buttons show evidence of silver plating (Figure 16d,e). One is covered in a thick, greyish, burned coating; it may be made of some unknown grey metal (Figure 16e). The buttons range in diameter from 1.45 to 1.55 cm. One has an inset eye, one has an eye which has been braized in place and the other two are incomplete. This group is identical to similarly entitled categories used in previous classifications.

Plain Unplated Copper Alloy Buttons N=2

Two flat disc-shaped buttons are 1.5-1.55 cm in diameter (Figure 16f). One contains a braized eye, the other appears to have been cast. This button type has been identified in previous investigations.

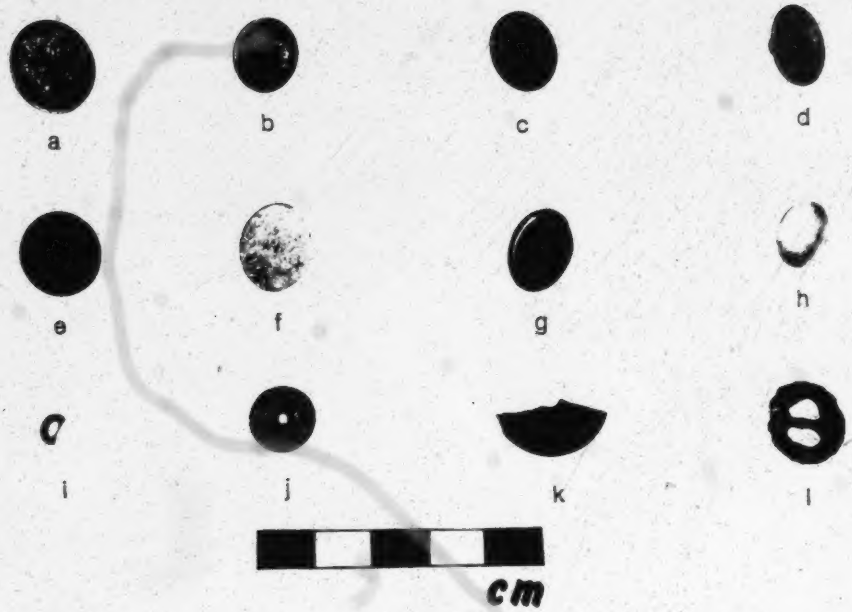

FIGURE 16 CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTATION : BUTTONS (a) flower design (77-8); (b) sun design (51-10); (c) star design (80-4); (d-e) plain plated (89-28); (f) plain unplated (86-19); (g) pewter bevelled-rim (95-10); (h) domed 'PLATED' (82-9); (i) shell (86-21); (j-k) bone (70-2, 92-22); CLOTHING FASTENER (?) (l) (65-15)

Pewter Bevelled-Rim Button N=1

A flat 1.5 cm diameter button of an unidentified grey metal (perhaps pewter) has a soldered eye (Figure 16g).

Domed Silver Plated Copper Alloy Buttons N=2

Two buttons, 1.2 cm in diameter, are domed, silver-plated, and stamped with the word 'PLATED' on the back (Figure 16h). They appear to have inset eyes. No analogs occur in past site reports of the area.

Shell Button N=1

A small shell button has a copper alloy inset eye (Figure 16i). Its perimeter is irregular as if it has been broken. It is 0.8 cm in diameter.

Bone Button N=3

Two complete single-hole bone buttons exhibit lathe marks in the form of concentric circles (Figure 16j). These may have been used as button backs for composite buttons. They are 1.2 cm in diameter. A fragment of a larger specimen has a diameter in excess of 2.0 cm (Figure 16k).

Clothing Fastener (?) N=1

One 1.45 cm diameter flat copper (?) ring is bisected by a bar (Figure 16l). It may represent a button part. Examples, not identified, have been found in previous investigations (Losey and Pyszczyk 1979:R8M4Q-3; Losey 1980: R8M11H1-20, R8M11J4-17).

RIVET N=1 INTRUSIVE

A nickle-plated tin clothing rivet, 1.1 cm in diameter, is intrusive.

RING N=1

A single, plain copper alloy finger ring has an outer diameter of 1.9 cm and a width of 0.35 cm (Figure 17a).

SILVER ARMBAND FRAGMENTS N=4

Three armband fragments (Figure 17b-e) decorated with parallel bands along their length are similar to specimens previously recovered which have 'MONTREAL' stamped on them (Kidd

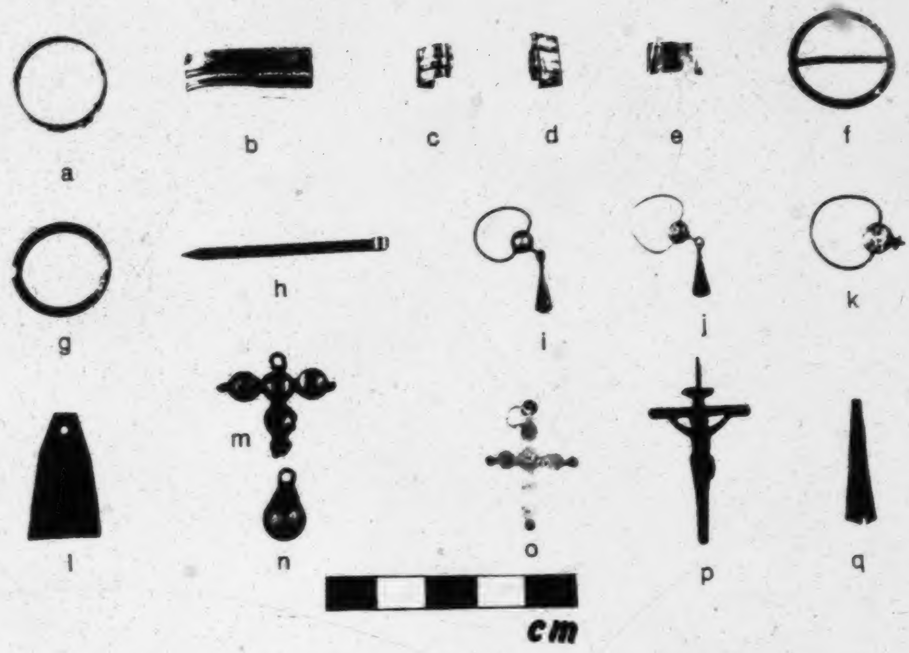

FIGURE 17 CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTATION: JEWELLERY (a) finger ring (89-30); (b-e) silver armband fragments (75-1, 65-19,20, 39-4); (f-g) circular brooches (81-7, 86-23); (h) brooch pin (49-7); (i-k) earrings (90-15, 86-27, 89-29); (l) sheet metal pendant (65-18); (m-n) stone pendants (86-26,27); (o) silver cross (63-3); (p) crucifix (86-24); (q) tinkling cone (63-4)

1970:166). They range from 0.6 to 1.45 cm in width. One piece has an undulating wave design created from a pattern of opposing rows of hatchure marks. Identical designs have been found on armbands and a pendant in Kidd (1970:Figure 92p). No maker's marks nor perforations for adjustment are present on these pieces.

BROOCHES N=6 (3 complete, 3 lacking pin)

Six plain, circular, plated brass brooches with sharpened cross-pins resemble specimens recovered in prior investigations (Figure 17f,g). They measure 1.95-2.1 cm in width. "They were often worn in groups to produce a massed effect reminiscent of chain mail or flexible armour" (Quimby 1966:93). They may have also been worn as hair ornaments (Michael Forsman pers. comm. November 1989). These were inexpensive items (100 brooches for 5 shillings) which were mass-produced (Quimby 1966:100).

BROOCH PIN N=1

One complete brooch pin measures 4.2 cm in length and is larger than the cross-pins in the circular brooches described above (Figure 17h). The pin is plano-convex in cross-section, with a sharpened tip and a looped end for attachment.

EARRINGS N=3

Three drop or pendant-style silver earrings consist of a wire earloop and ball with a closed cone pendant secured beneath (Figure 17i-k). Two are complete, the third, larger specimen is lacking a pendant. They resemble, respectively, items illustrated in Kidd (1970:Figure 94c,d).

PENDANTS N=5

Except for the first pendant, none of the following ornamental articles have analogs among the artifact assemblages previously collected in the area.

Sheet Metal Pendants N=1

One hexagonal copper alloy pendant is actually an elongated, truncated triangle (Figure 17l). It has a maximum width of 1.4 cm, a length of 2.5 cm and is perforated for attachment at the narrow end. This item resembles, to some degree, the size and form of the triangular sheet metal pendants recorded in Kidd 1970 and Losey 1980. Kidd notes that some pendants exhibit traces of tinning and were probably locally-made from kettles (1970:169).

Stone Pendant N=1

A small, 1.45 cm long, pendant, consists of a glass stone, frosty-clear in colour, set into an unidentified grey metal setting (Figure 17m). It was attached by means of a metal eye.

Stone Cross Pendant N=1

Four translucent, colourless, glass stones are set into a grey metal setting, forming a cross, 1.2 cm in length and 1.4 cm in width. (Figure 17n) Small metal spurs occur laterally to each side stone. A fan-shaped projection is present at one end of the cross, beneath which lies an eye for attachment, oriented perpendicular to the cross. At the other end, a second eye is oriented on the same plane as the cross. This item and the one previously described may be two pieces of a single artifact with the former attaching to the latter by means of eyes at the point of the shell projection, effectively lengthening the cross.

Silver Cross N=1

A scallop-edged cross of trade silver is 2.6 cm long and 1.85 cm wide (Figure 17o). It has an off-centre perforation with a silver ring on the top arm and 'R.C.' inscribed at the centre. Robert Cruikshank was a Montreal silversmith who supplied trade jewellery to the fur trade business from 1779 to 1808 or 1809 (Quimby 1966:168). He often signed his pieces with the initials 'R.C.'

Crucifix N=1

A copper alloy crucifix is 3.8 cm long and 2.1 cm wide (Figure 17p). It is crudely mould manufactured with remnants of moulding adhering to it. No maker's marks are visible.

Tinkling Cones N=5

Four copper alloy tinkling cones (one incomplete, split longitudinally) are identified (Figure 17q), an incomplete iron sheet metal fragment has been rolled lengthwise and may represent a fifth tinkling cone. The variability in size and the incomplete nature of some of the specimens suggests local production from scrap metal. Tinkling cones were commonly made from worn-out kettles. No evidence of fibrous or hair attachment or tassels was recovered.

BEADS N=14

Beads are classified according to the categories provided by Kidd (1970).

Tubular Beads N=2

These are defined as plain, opaque glass tubes, broken at the ends (Figure 18a). Two white specimens were recovered (see Kidd 1970: Figure 96e,f).

Monochrome Barrel-Shaped Beads N=6

Also known as wire-wound beads from their method of manufacture which involves wrapping molten glass around a metal core, these beads (Figure 18b-g) are variable in terms of size and colour (Kidd 1970:173). The specimens recovered include one translucent red, one turquoise, and four opaque white beads (see Kidd 1970:Figure 96l,q,aa for similar examples).

Polychrome Barrel-Shaped Beads N=1

One opaque white bead has been inlaid with three wavy lines around its circumference (Figure 18h). The centre line has a green inlay, the other inlays have fallen out. Similar beads were found at Fort George (see Kidd 1970: Figure 97b,c). These inlaid beads were highly esteemed by the Crow Indians for necklaces and buffalo medicine bundle decorations (Woodward 1965:13). Complete specimens have a pattern of green and pink stripes (Kidd 1970:174).

Small Glass Trade Beads N=6

A small sample of pound or pony beads, averaging 2 to 4 mm in diameter was recovered (4 blue; 2 white, Figure 18i-n). A larger sample would undoubtedly have been obtained if smaller-sized screen mesh had been used, although in several cases these beads were found in situ or in test units.

VERMILLION/OCHRE N=2

Very small fragments of red vermillion and a piece of orange-coloured pigment stone represent raw materials for personal decoration (Figure 18o,p).

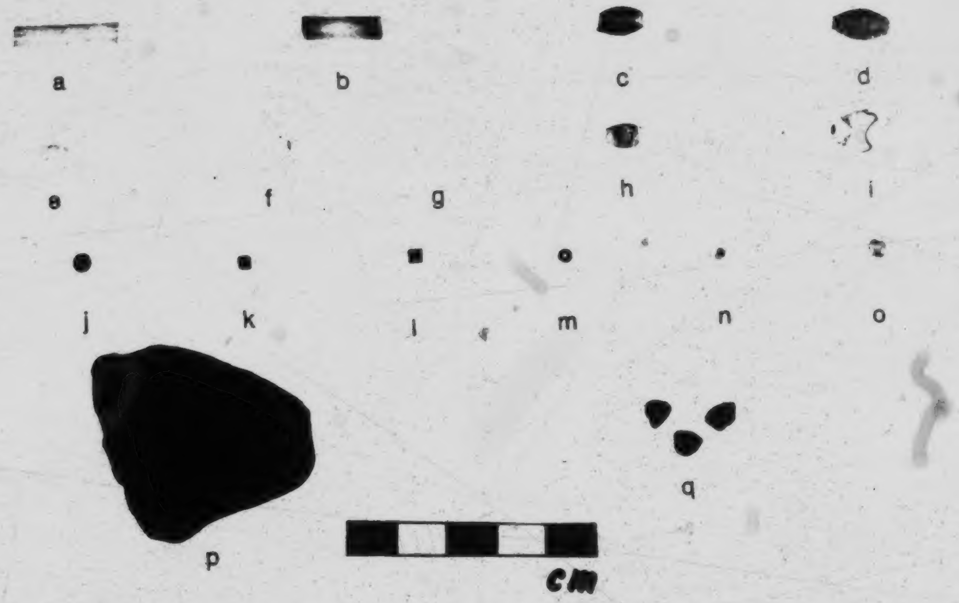

FIGURE 18 CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTATION : BEADS (a) tubular beads, white (83-5, 92-23); (b-g) monochrome barrel-shaped beads, red, turquoise, white (65-17, 86-22, 70-3, 90-13,14,65-16); (h) polychrome barrel-shaped beads (96-8); (i-n) small glass trade beads (18-22, 27-1,2, 51-11, 90-12, 92-39); (o) vermillion (87-8); (p) pigment fragments (83-10)

MISCELLANEOUS OR UNIDENTIFIABLE ARTIFACTS

PLASTIC SHEETING N=1 INTRUSIVE

Several small pieces of plastic were found within the sod level of one unit. These are clearly intrusive and postdate the occupation of the site.

UNIDENTIFIABLE GLASS N=7

Seven glass fragments are either too weathered, melted or otherwise undiagnostic to retain features characteristic of original function. All are clear coloured with a green tint; some are frosted.

UNIDENTIFIABLE FERROUS METAL N=21

Rod N=1

A small, corroded cylindrical ferrous rod expands to a bulbous end. The other end has two small prongs.

Bars N=5

A flaking ferrous fragment may represent a discarded nail shaft preform. A second flat, corroded bar is 5.5 mm wide and 3.0 mm thick. One flat bar is 0.75 cm wide and 0.4 cm thick with one end bent at a right angle. A fourth specimen, 3.5 mm thick and 1.1 cm maximum width, displays cold chisel marks, suggesting local manufacture. The fifth bar appears to have a rounded end, although corrosion makes this difficult to ascertain. The other end is broken. It is 1.1 cm wide and 0.5 cm thick.

Wire N=1

A flat strip of coiled ferrous metal is 0.6 cm wide and 0.05 cm thick.

Cut Sheet Metal N=3

These scraps probably represent detritus from on-site manufacture and repair of items. One band, is 1.6 cm wide.

Sheet (?) Metal N=10

Ten ferrous fragments cannot be identified as to form or function. Although they do not exhibit cut edges, they probably represent either manufacturing by-products or fragments of once-complete artifacts.

UNIDENTIFIED CUT COPPER ALLOY FRAGMENTS N=4

Four small triangular scraps of cut copper alloy metal represent by-products of local artifact production. The scraps are too small to be preforms for projectile points, tinkling cones or pendants. Similar items have been variously categorized in previous research. Kidd (1970) classifies them under the heading of small kettle body fragments. Losey and Pyszczyk (1979) and Losey (1980) identify them as miscellaneous metal objects possibly cut from containers.

MELTED GREY METAL N=11

Several fragments of unidentified grey metal are melted. They may represent sprues from lead ball production or melted silver jewellery. One piece of slag represents blacksmithing activities.

GEOFACTS N=3

Three naturally formed lithics may have been collected as keepsakes. Two are a sedimentary rocks containing a small bivalve fossil. The other is a limestone 'nipple-shaped' concretion.

TABLE 14. Artifact Industry Distributions at FlOq-10*.

	ACTIVITY AREA				
	PLANTATION[a]	PROMONTORY	CABIN	YARD	TOTAL
ARTIFACT GROUP					
Bone Tool Production	-	-	2	-	2
Stone Tool Production	11	8	2	128	149
Hunting & Trapping	4	-	15	6	25
Architecture	43	-	127	22	192
Woodworking	1	-	7 (8)	-	8 (9)
Clothing Construction	-	-	3	1	4
Miscellaneous Tools	2	-	4	1 (7)	7 (13)
Household	12	-	13 (27)	12 (15)	37 (54)
Personal	-	-	9	3	12
Recreation	1	-	51	7	59
Clothing/Ornamentation	6	-	41	12	59
Miscellaneous/ Unidentified	6	-	26	11	43
TOTAL	86	8	300 (315)	203 (212)	597 (621)

* exclusive of intrusive artifacts (N=4)

[a] exclusive of promontory, cabin and front yard

TABLE 15. Artifact Distribution: Bone Tool Production.

	ACTIVITY AREA				
ARTIFACT GROUP	PLANTATION*	PROMONTORY	CABIN	YARD	TOTAL
Grooved Bone Flake	-	-	1	-	1
Polished Bone Flake	-	-	1	-	1
TOTAL	-	-	2	-	2

* exclusive of promontory, cabin and front yard

TABLE 16. Artifact Distribution: Stone Tool Production.

	ACTIVITY AREA				
ARTIFACT GROUP	PLANTATION*	PROMONTORY	CABIN	YARD	TOTAL
1 ° Flake	1	1	-	4	6
2 ° Flake	2	1	-	14	17
3 ° Flake	4	3	-	51	58
Biface Thinning Flake	-	-	1	2	3
Shatter	1	3	1	57	62
Core Fragment	1	-	-	-	1
Bipolar Split Pebble	2	-	-	-	2
TOTAL	11	8	2	128	149

* exclusive of promontory, cabin and front yard

TABLE 17. Artifact Distribution: Hunting and Trapping.

	ACTIVITY AREA				
ARTIFACT GROUP	PLANTATION*	PROMONTORY	CABIN	YARD	TOTAL
Gunflints	-	-	11	3	14
Gunflint Fragments	1	-	1	-	2
Musket Balls	2	-	1	2	5
Metal Projectile Points	1	-	1	1	3
Snare (?) Fragment	-	-	1	-	1
TOTAL	4	-	15	6	25

* exclusive of promontory, cabin and front yard

TABLE 18. Artifact Distribution: Architecture.

	ACTIVITY AREA				
	PLANTATION*	PROMONTORY	CABIN	YARD	TOTAL
ARTIFACT GROUP					
Nails- rosehead	7	-	35	12	54
-clasphead	9	-	5	1	15
-flathead	3	-	5	-	8
-flathead, offset	2	-	4	2	8
-T-head	5	-	2	-	7
-shouldered T-head	-	-	1	-	1
-twisted T-head	1	-	-	-	1
-L-head	1	-	-	-	1
-headless	1	-	2	1	4
-shouldered, headless	1	-	3	-	4
-unidentifiable	1	-	12	3	16
-shafts	8	-	55	3	66
Spikes	3	-	2	-	5
Woodscrews	1	-	1	-	2
TOTAL	43	-	127	22	192

* exclusive of promontory, cabin and front yard

TABLE 19. Artifact Distributions: Woodworking.

	ACTIVITY AREA				
	PLANTATION*	PROMONTORY	CABIN	YARD	TOTAL
ARTIFACT GROUP					
Rasp	-	-	1	-	1
File	-	-	3	-	3
Gimlet	1	-	-	-	1
Wedge/Chisel (?)	-	-	3(4)	-	3(4)
TOTAL	1	-	7(8)	-	8(9)

* exclusive of promontory, cabin and front yard

TABLE 20. Artifact Distribution: Clothing Construction

	ACTIVITY AREA				
	PLANTATION*	PROMONTORY	CABIN	YARD	TOTAL
ARTIFACT GROUP					
Flesher	-	-	1	-	1
Scraper				1	1
Bone Awl	-	-	1	-	1
Metal Awl	-	-	1	-	1
TOTAL	-	-	3	1	4

* exclusive of promontory, cabin and front yard

TABLE 21. Artifact Distributions: Miscellaneous Tools.

	ACTIVITY AREA				
ARTIFACT GROUP	PLANTATION*	PROMONTORY	CABIN	YARD	TOTAL
Lithic Scraper	1	-	-	-	1
Lithic Abrader (?)	1	-		1 (7)	2 (8)
Knives - clasp	-	-	2	-	2
- handle casing	-	-	1	-	1
- blade fragment	-	-	1	-	1
TOTAL	2	-	4	1 (7)	7 (13)

*exclusive of promontory, cabin and front yard

TABLE 22. Artifact Distributions: Household.

	ACTIVITY AREA				
ARTIFACT GROUP	PLANTATION*	PROMONTORY	CABIN	YARD	TOTAL
Key	-	-	1	-	1
Handle	-	-	1	-	1
Barrel Strapping	-	-	1	-	1
Kettle Lug	-	-	-	1	1
Kettle Body Fragments	-	-	1 (3)	-	1 (3)
Container Rims, ferrous	-	-	2 (4)	-	2 (4)
Liquor Bottle Fragments	7	-	2	-	9
Pharmaceutical Bottle Fragments	-	-	1	-	1
Ceramic Vessels - Gallipots	4	-	1 (11)	-	5 (15)
-white earthenware	-	-	-	1	1
-cream earthenware	-	-	-	7 (10)	7 (10)
-transferprint earthenware	-	-	2	3	5
Native Pottery	1	-	-	-	1
Ground Stone Handle (?)	-	-	1	-	1
TOTAL	12	-	13 (27)	12 (15)	37 (54)

* exclusive of promontory, cabin and front yard

TABLE 23. Artifact Distribution: Personal.

	ACTIVITY AREA				
ARTIFACT GROUP	PLANTATION*	PROMONTORY	CABIN	YARD	TOTAL
Razor	-	-	1	-	1
Mirror (?) Glass	-	-	8	3	11
TOTAL	-	-	9	3	12

* exclusive of promontory, cabin and front yard

TABLE 24. Artifact Distribution: Recreation - Smoking.

	ACTIVITY AREA				
ARTIFACT GROUP	PLANTATION*	PROMONTORY	CABIN	YARD	TOTAL
Clay Pipes - stems	-	-	22	6	28
-bowls	1	-	20	-	21
-mouthpieces	-	-	3	-	3
-bowl-stems	-	-	2	1	3
Stone Pipes - bowls	-	-	3	-	3
-preform	-	-	1	-	1
TOTAL	1	-	51	7	59

* exclusive of promontory, cabin and front yard

TABLE 25. Artifact Distribution: Clothing and Ornamentation.

	ACTIVITY AREA				
ARTIFACT GROUP	PLANTATION*	PROMONTORY	CABIN	YARD	TOTAL
Buttons - decorated	-	-	3	-	3
-plain, plated	-	-	4	-	4
-plain, unplated	-	-	2	-	2
-pewter (?)	-	-	1	-	1
-domed, plated	-	-	2	-	2
-shell	-	-	1	-	1
-bone back	-	-	2	1	3
Clothing Fastener (?)	-	-	-	1	1
Ring	-	-	1	-	1
Armbands	-	-	-	4	4
Brooches	-	-	6	-	6
Brooch Pin	-	-	1	-	1
Earrings	-	-	3	-	3
Pendants - sheet metal	-	-	-	1	1
-stone	-	-	1	-	1
-stone cross	-	-	1	-	1
-silver cross	-	-	-	1	1
-crucifix	-	-	1	-	1
Tinkling Cones	3	-	1	1	5
Beads - tubular	-	-	2	-	2
-monochrome barrel-shaped	-	-	3	3	6
-polychrome barrel-shaped	-	-	1	-	1

-small glass trade	3	-	3	-	6
Verillion/Ochre	-	-	2	-	2
TOTAL	6	-	41	12	59

* exclusive of promontory, cabin and front yard

TABLE 26. Artifact Distribution: Miscellaneous/Unidentified.

	ACTIVITY AREA				
	PLANTATION*	PROMONTORY	CABIN	YARD	TOTAL
ARTIFACT GROUP					
Glass	-	-	-	7	7
Ferrous Rod/ Bars	1	-	4	2	7
Wire	1	-	-	-	1
Cut Sheet Metal, Ferrous	1	-	1	1	3
Ferrous Scraps	-	-	10	-	10
Cut Sheet Metal, Copper Alloy	3	-	-	1	4
Melted Lead	-	-	11	-	11
TOTAL	6	-	26	11	43

* exclusive of promontory, cabin and front yard